THE Nation.

THE SISTERHOOD SPLIT
Jessica Valenti

KOSOVO'S DILEMMA
Mark Mazower

McCAIN'S WAR FEVER
Robert Dreyfuss

COURBET'S DARING
Barry Schwabsky

WHO WOULD JESUS VOTE FOR?

THE NEW EVANGELICALS SEEK NEW ANSWERS
BOB MOSER

MARCH 24, 2008
www.thenation.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Stand by Your Wo/Man

"Obama's Promise," our February 25 lead editorial, in which we said, "We support Obama for President," drew a flood of mail, about 80 percent angry. Although we delighted some (one enthusiastic reader was so pleased he sent $100 to the Nation Associates), several subscriptions were canceled. Our decision was called: unfortunate, overhasty, unwise, short-sighted, stupid, troubling, outrageous, misogynistic, divisive, shocking, shameful, sexist, Clinton-bashing, contrived, disgusting and naïve. Readers said they were startled, furious, dismayed, deeply disappointed, sick, shocked and sad. "For the first time I disagree with The Nation," *said one reader; another was "astounded at the depth of anger I felt." "Sexism is more rampant in America than racism," said a third. "Barack in 2016, not now," said another. And finally: "I am sick of men making all the calls.... It's just time for a woman. That's all."* —*The Editors*

Powell, Ohio
You say Obama has a chance of winning the election and putting together a "progressive coalition." What has he ever done that causes you to make such an assertion? Hell, he hasn't been in the league long enough to do anything. You, like Senator John Kerry, anger me with your stupidity. As clean as Kerry was, look what the Republican filth-and-slime machine did to him, as well as to Max Cleland and others. They'll have a field day with an admitted pot smoker, cocaine user and a dude whose middle name is Hussein. They don't have any more dirt to throw at Hillary—we've heard it all. Your naïveté astounds me. Cancel my subscription.
John T. Dempsey

Cambridge, Mass.
Thank you for your eloquent endorsement of Barack Obama. I have just one quibble: you say Obama is in the middle of the pack regarding his voting record. But according to Keith Poole and Jeff Lewis's analysis of the 110th Senate (http://voteview.com/sen110.htm), Obama's record makes him tied for ninth most liberal Democratic senator and tenth most liberal, period. He is surpassed only by Russ Feingold, Chris Dodd, Bernie Sanders, Sheldon Whitehouse, Ted Kennedy, Tom Harkin, Barbara Boxer, Sherrod Brown and Jack Reed; he is tied with Joe Biden. (In contrast, Hillary Clinton is tied for twentieth in the 110th Senate, ranked twenty-fifth in the 109th, tied for twenty-first in the 108th and ranked twenty-second in the 107th. *That's* the middle of the pack.)
Keith Ammann

Gwynedd, Pa.
There is no way to quibble with the reasons for your endorsement. Except for the real (and scary) possibility that come November, a vote for Obama will morph into a victory for McCain. (Let us not forget that the Klan mentality is far from extinct.) Yes, Obama has great appeal and can generate considerable support. However, now in my ninetieth year, I long ago learned not to be carried away by even the most inspiring rhetoric. If not Hillary, ultimately it will have to be women who will keep testosterone-crazed men from getting us into one war after another and ultimately blowing up the planet. There is much more at stake than the upcoming election.
Si Lewen

Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Barack Obama does seem to be the least of the remaining evils—but *The Nation* should not have endorsed him without challenging him to make a real commitment to end the war. Obama's plan to withdraw troops from Iraq is certainly better than Hillary Clinton's plan to reduce troop levels. But progressives should accept nothing less from a candidate than a demonstrated commitment to bring all our troops home now.
Sean Donahue

Fort Worth, Tex.
Why is *The Nation* so in love with Obama? Yes, he's beautiful, suave and a great orator. But I don't want a beautiful states-

letters@thenation.com

(continued on page 22)

Each call is a chance to speak your mind.

Switch to CREDO Mobile and support progressive causes such as clean elections, civil rights and unbiased media just by using your phone.

Go to credomobile.com or call 877.76.CREDO for more information.

CREDO mobile

Proudly introduced by Working Assets

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation.
since 1865

Will Democracy Win?

Hillary Clinton's commanding Democratic primary victories in Ohio and Rhode Island and her narrow win in Texas sent a gust of wind into the sagging sails of her presidential campaign. However, her chances of securing the party's nomination in a democratically uncompromised manner are slim. Even if she were to win all twelve of the remaining primaries and caucuses by significant margins—a highly improbable development—Barack Obama would still retain the lead in pledged delegates. For Clinton to win, superdelegates would have to tip the nomination her way—against the express will of the majority of Democratic voters. Or her campaign would have to succeed in seating delegates from Florida and Michigan—in violation of mutually agreed-upon primary rules. Or both. That, for Clinton supporters, is the unhappy reality.

EDITORIAL

Adding to the tension of this moment for all Democrats is the knowledge that scorched-earth tactics are at least partly responsible for Clinton's success on Super Tuesday II. Through its fearmongering over terrorism and national security and by taking advantage of smear campaigns against Obama's patriotism, race and religion, the Clinton campaign has already sunk fairly low—but it could very well sink lower, threatening to negate the early promise of this historic contest, which has seen a massive spike in voter turnout, particularly among the young and minorities, and the enthusiastic rise of progressive values and issues. If the campaign continues this descent during the long slog to Pennsylvania on April 22 and beyond, the ultimate benefactor may well be neither small d-democracy nor the Democratic Party—but Senator John McCain and the GOP, who no doubt will spend the time taking notes and sharpening knives. Given the electoral challenge it faces, the Clinton camp ought to think long and hard about how it chooses to wage the remainder of this campaign.

Still, the Clinton campaign isn't doing anything the right won't do if Obama is the nominee, so his campaign could benefit from learning how to take this punch and counterpunch. And Obama has been fair game for some of Clinton's attacks: on NAFTA, for instance, his campaign's fuzziness—embodied by the embarrassing spectacle of top adviser Austan Goolsbee telling Canadians not to take seriously the candidate's tough talk about renegotiating the agreement—has created a vulnerability that Clinton has every right to exploit.

This magazine has endorsed Barack Obama, and we continue to believe his candidacy represents the best chance to forge a new progressive majority. But we also believe that all voters—including those in Puerto Rico, who vote last, on June 7—should have the chance to decide for themselves. For this process to unfold fairly and be of continuing value to party and country, two steps must be taken.

First, Democratic National Committee chair Howard Dean and state legislators should move rapidly to schedule new elections in Florida and Michigan—caucuses if primaries can't be arranged by June. Both campaigns may object to this; they should be ignored. The results of the earlier rogue primaries—Obama's name wasn't even on the ballot in Michigan—cannot be counted. And the race is too close for these states to be excluded. This process must start immediately.

Second, the superdelegates must understand that it would be a disaster if they overturned the verdict of the voters, however contested and close that verdict might be. If Obama sustains his lead in pledged delegates, the superdelegates should consolidate his victory. If Clinton comes back and, with new results from Michigan and Florida, takes the lead, she should be awarded the nomination. However, if Clinton seeks to win

Page 16: A closer look at "the true neocon"

Inside

2 Letters

Editorials & Comment

3 **Will Democracy Win?**
4 **The Sisterhood Split**
JESSICA VALENTI
5 **Noted**
6 **The Kosovo Dilemma**
MARK MAZOWER

Columns

6 **Deadline Poet**
Unsettling Thought
CALVIN TRILLIN
9 **Diary of a Mad Law Professor**
House of Cards
PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS
10 **The Liberal Media**
(Some) Jews Against Obama
ERIC ALTERMAN

Articles

11 **Who Would Jesus Vote For?**
The new evangelicals are embracing a broader social gospel.
BOB MOSER
16 **Hothead McCain**
The presumptive GOP nominee favors unilateralism and "rogue state rollback."
ROBERT DREYFUSS
21 **How to Swim Against the Current**
People are wriggling free of the fetters of our corporate culture.
JIM HIGHTOWER AND SUSAN DEMARCO

Books & the Arts

23 **COHEN:** Army of Shadows: Palestinian Collaboration With Zionism, 1917–1948
COHEN: Aravim Tovim
NEVE GORDON
28 **Gustave Courbet**
BARRY SCHWABSKY
34 **FILMS:** Chop Shop • Paranoid Park • Vantage Point
STUART KLAWANS

COVER DESIGN BY GENE CASE & STEPHEN KLING/AVENGING ANGELS; ILLUSTRATION BY ROB SUSSMAN

VOLUME 286, NUMBER 11, MARCH 24, 2008
PRINTED MARCH 5

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation.

EDITOR & PUBLISHER: Katrina vanden Heuvel

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

MANAGING EDITOR: Roane Carey
LITERARY EDITOR: John Palattella
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR: Richard Lingeman
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Richard Kim
WEB EDITOR: Joan Connell
COPY CHIEF: Judith Long
ASSOCIATE LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Dave Baker
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
INTERNS: Te-Ping Chen (*Washington*), Elizabeth Henderson, Dinelle Lucchesi, Yasmin Madadi, Zingi Mkefa, Kavita S. Shah, Michael Sosa, Brett Story, Susannah Vila

WASHINGTON: EDITOR: Christopher Hayes; **CORRESPONDENT:** John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams, Gary Younge

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Peter Gizzi; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Christian Parenti, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Karen Rothmyer, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Bruce Shapiro, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Ari Berman, Lakshmi Chaudhry, Liza Featherstone, Bob Moser, Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Deepak Bhargava, Norman Birnbaum, Barbara Ehrenreich, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Victor Navasky, Pedro Antonio Noguera, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, Andrea Batista Schlesinger, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY AND SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Ben Wyskida
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
VICE PRESIDENT, WEBSITE AND TECHNOLOGY: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
WEB PRODUCER: Jeff Larson
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO VICTOR NAVASKY: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Elizabeth Berniak
ADVERTISING ASSISTANT: Kit Gross
CLERK: Shavonne Frazier

PUBLISHER EMERITUS: Victor Navasky

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.

SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Printed on 100% recycled 40% post-consumer acid- and chlorine-free paper, in the USA.

This week @thenation.com

NEWS & ANALYSIS

John Nichols: Now the campaign gets dangerous

Ari Berman: How the media helped Hillary

Jerold Starr: The other side of McCain's lobbying scandal

Robert Perkinson: Two angry men

NATION POLL

How should the Democratic campaign proceed?

CITIZEN KANG

The Nation's political novel continues

AROUND THE NATION

Place your event on our calendar

the nomination in the back rooms after losing it in the caucuses and primaries, the young and idealistic who have flocked to Obama's banner will be outraged, and their bitterness could make it impossible to unite the party. Clinton might get the nomination, but hers would be a Pyrrhic victory.

With Governor Mike Huckabee's magnanimous concession speech and George W. Bush's cuddly endorsement, Republicans are moving to unite around McCain—or at least paper over their differences—in order to beat back the successful surge of this political season: that of progressive Democratic and independent voters who deplore what Bush and his party have done to this country and who are turning out in droves to demand a different future. The true potential of this groundswell for change—as a movement and then as an enduring reality—exceeds the immediate electoral fortunes of either Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton. But, its fate, at least for the moment, is tied to how this nomination fight is conducted. After all these years, electoral politics is again a vehicle for raising expectations and spreading hope. It would be a shame if, in trying to settle the nomination, Democrats managed to lose sight of this larger vision.

The Sisterhood Split

At a Washington reception last month for a well-known national women's organization, the chair of the board asked Maureen McFadden, a communications executive with the organization, which candidate she'd voted for in the recent primary. McFadden, hoping to avoid an awkward moment, answered that she'd voted by absentee ballot. The board chair pressed ahead, "Did you vote for a boy or a girl?"

COMMENT

"I paused for a long time," says McFadden. "Then I told her I voted for a boy—I wasn't going to lie." McFadden, who has worked on women's issues for twenty years, says the room went silent and the board chair chastised her. "It was clear that I had betrayed feminism by voting for Obama. It became obvious—if you didn't vote for Hillary, you were less than a feminist and only marginally a woman."

It's no secret that Clinton's candidacy has caused waves in feminist circles. Media outlets from the *Wall Street Journal* to the *Washington Post* have reported on the rift between feminists voting for Clinton and those supporting Obama. Blogs have weighed in, and feminist listservs are aflame. As a feminist blogger and writer, I've been watching the tension unfold—but with no great surprise. This election "rift," far from being a new wrinkle in a feminist utopia, is a fairly predictable response from a movement already disunited. The Clinton-Obama divide has shone a spotlight on feminism's dirty little not-so secret: the movement's longstanding power imbalance, in which a few organizations and leaders decide what counts as an acceptable platform. Indeed, feminist support for Clinton—coming from the usual suspects like the National Organization for Women (NOW), EMILY's List, Gloria Steinem and former *Ms.* magazine editor Robin Morgan—has been organized, strong and far-reaching. What's been less than savvy, however, is the reaction some feminist Clinton supporters have expressed toward their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Noted.

REMEMBERING BUCKLEY: In the mid-1990s, when I asked John O'Sullivan, who had replaced **William F. Buckley Jr.** as editor in chief of *National Review*, about Buckley's relationship to the magazine he had founded, O'Sullivan said, "It's simple. I run the magazine on a day-to-day basis. I make all the decisions except when he wants to make one." Buckley, who died February 27, first came to national attention as the scourge of his alma mater (*God and Man at Yale*), and for decades he postured and pummeled nonbelievers as the host of public television's *Firing Line*. But it was as founder, editor and perpetrator of *National Review*, born in 1955, that he made his mark.

Buckley's stated hope for his magazine was to do for conservatism what *The New Republic* and *The Nation* did for liberalism. And indeed, deftly dipping into the Elmer's glue of cold war anti-Communism, his magazine pasted together such previously disparate strands of right-wing theology as free marketeerism, traditionalism, isolationism (in the form of anti-UN-ism) and libertarianism—all done in the name of now-forgotten "fusionism." This may sound hopelessly antiquated, but the fact is that Buckley's magazine begat the nomination of **Barry Goldwater** and gave birth to the conservative movement, Reaganism and, not to belabor the point, eventually—I would argue—the war in Iraq, to which even Buckley eventually took modest exception.

I recently confessed in the pages of *Columbia Journalism Review* (on the occasion of the publication of Buckley's forty-ninth book, **Cancel Your Own Goddam Subscription**) that in June 1988, with the permission of *The Nation*'s literary editor, I asked **Robert Sherrill** if, in the course of his review of **John Judis**'s biography of Buckley, he might remind our readers of all of the crude and cruel causes the by-then much-celebrated Buckley had endorsed early in his career. At the time Sherrill said, "What I like about this assignment—it's a good old-fashioned hatchet job." On the occasion of Our Bill's passing, let's salute him as founder of a journal to whose politics we take exception and occasionally detest yet whose contribution to the national conversation we welcome. But for those who want the full story, we refer you to Sherrill's "Squire Willie," which appeared in this magazine on June 11, 1988. VICTOR NAVASKY

INVISIBLE CITIES: Remember that heated moment in the primary debates when the candidates locked horns in contrasting their visions for urban America? When they argued over infrastructure and mass transit, stressed the importance of revitalizing depressed neighborhoods and lauded the relative energy efficiency of the urban life? Neither do I. This is a travesty. The candidates need to understand, as the *New York Times* recently editorialized, that "as important as rural problems are, they're not nearly as big as the task of helping the nation's struggling cities—where most Americans live or work.... Yet urban issues have gotten scant attention in this campaign." So what would an actual urban debate sound like?

MayorTV (www.mayorTV.com), a joint video project of *The Nation* and the **Drum Major Institute for Public Policy**, set out to explore that question with the natural experts on urban politics—America's mayors. From large and small cities, flourishing towns and struggling municipalities, a common urban narrative emerged. "I hope when the presidential candidates talk about cities they stop thinking about us as basket cases and think instead of the potential of cities to turn this country around," offered Mayor **R.T. Rybak** of Minneapolis. "We're not looking for a handout," Rochester Mayor **Bob Duffy** maintains, "but an investment that we can show a return with." Instead, federal and state governments, eager to cut taxes, have passed on fewer resources than ever to cities, which are nonetheless expected to provide expanded levels of public service.

At times, Washington's willful blindness to urban issues produces policies that not only neglect cities but actively undermine them. Baltimore Mayor **Sheila Dixon** cites the Tiahrt Amendment, an appropriations rider introduced by Representative **Todd Tiahrt** of Kansas, which limits cities' ability to use gun-trace data to stop the proliferation of illegal guns. "We have wars here in our cities!" Dixon says. "We need tools in place that will assist our local police."

Despite the lack of support from inside the Beltway, cities are moving ahead with their own agendas, often stepping into the vacuum left by federal negligence. "Most of the innovation around the nation is occurring in our cities," Los Angeles Mayor **Antonio Villaraigosa** argues. Nowhere is this truer than in confronting global warming. In 2005, as the Kyoto Protocol went into effect in 141 countries but not in the United States, Seattle Mayor **Greg Nickels** launched the US Mayors Climate Protection Agreement, calling on cities to take action on their own to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

America, the mayors agree, is stuck without an urban agenda. "But," says Atlanta Mayor **Shirley Franklin**, "I am looking forward to the election in '08 to unstick us." Her optimism is shared by most MayorTV participants. Let's hope their confidence is not misplaced. AMY TRAUB

CLEVELAND'S FDR: On the seventy-fifth anniversary of Franklin Roosevelt's first inauguration as President, the FDR campaign song, "Happy Days Are Here Again," was played at the AFL-CIO headquarters in Cleveland. And members celebrated the March 4 Democratic primary victory of one of their own: **Dennis Kucinich**. This was not the Kucinich caricatured by the media as a quixotic presidential campaigner with flaky ideas and flakier supporters. This was the Congressman who has always opposed free-trade deals, fought big banks and corporations and preached that unnecessary wars divert money needed to rebuild America. This was the Congressman who swamped a primary foe with $500,000 and beat back daily attacks from the rabidly anti-Kucinich *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Kucinich took all the hits in Cleveland that he had taken nationally during his presidential bid. But Ohio voters heard enough from him to cut through the blather about UFOs, Hollywood and his height. And they recognized that, even if Dennis is never going to be President, his voice—which has always owed more to the New Deal than the New Age—is needed on the national stage. JOHN NICHOLS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Obama-endorsing cohorts. I've seen Obama supporters called everything from naïve to traitors to the cause, and the majority of this ire has come from mainstream professional feminists.

For example, in a widely disseminated article that inspired responses ranging from effusive to horrified, Morgan diagnosed young women who support Obama as "eager to win male approval by showing they're not feminists (at least not the kind who actually threaten the status quo), who can't identify with a woman candidate because she is unafraid of eeueweeeu yucky power…" Gloria Feldt, former president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, penned a piece for The Huffington Post in which she warned women they would be missing out on a historic moment if they didn't vote for Clinton. "Will women give this Moment away freely once again?" she pondered.

The intensity of feminist infighting has even prompted a call for reconciliation. "Morning in America: A letter from feminists on the election" in last week's *Nation*, written by feminist heavyweights, called on women to "refocus on the bigger picture." But the letter—written after a breakfast of blueberry muffins served on "the good china" at Steinem's house, with nary a woman under 40 in sight—represents the exact problem it purports to seek an end to: the narrowing of feminist viewpoints. Moreover, feminists make a mistake in prematurely calling for unity. Instead of glossing over the problem with the rhetoric of sisterhood or having an elite group declare the dispute settled, let's own the conflict and use it to make real progress.

Rebecca Walker, a founder of the Third Wave Foundation, says, "There are no new issues on the table. What we see in this election is the zenith of the decades-old struggle between women of different sensibilities." Walker believes today's election friction is simply a consequence of mainstream feminist leaders and organizations not listening to critiques from younger women, women of color and grassroots activists about the exclusivity of thought within the movement. "The issue at hand has to do with [institutional] feminism's inability to respond adequately to the claims brought against it," Walker says.

One of these claims is that mainstream feminists have ignored an "intersectional" approach to feminism—one that takes class, race and sexuality into account—in favor of one that focuses on sexism above all else. NOW executives, for example, campaigning for Clinton in Ohio told women voters that sexism is "the worst of the isms."

In a segment on *Democracy Now!* with Steinem, Melissa Harris-Lacewell, an associate professor of politics and African-American studies at Princeton, took this single-issue mind-set to task: "Part of what, again, has been sort of an anxiety for African-American women feminists like myself is that we're often asked to join up with white women's feminism, but only on their own terms, as long as we sort of remain silent about the ways in which our gender, our class, our sexual identity doesn't intersect, as long as we can be quiet about those things and join onto a single agenda."

Amanda Marcotte, a former John Edwards campaign blogger and now an Obama supporter, says there's "been some pressure from feminist Clinton supporters who feel that no reason to vote for Obama outweighs the possibility of the first female President." Marcotte, however, is quick to point out that "plenty of female Clinton supporters report being bullied by liberal men who support Obama."

Herein lies the reason so many of us are loath to discuss intrafeminist problems publicly. We know that Clinton supporters are taking heat from sexists—whether at home, at work or from pundits who relish talking about Clinton's "shrill" voice or whatever thinly veiled misogyny of the day is on cable news. We don't want to provide the backlash more fodder. We also know how hard our feminist foremothers fought to be here and how important the moment is—and we want to be a part of it. I certainly do. But not at the expense of what I believe is best for women, and not just because a movement that assumes it knows what's best for me tells me to.

No matter what Clinton's fate, feminist election tensions will start to fade—but we shouldn't let them, no matter how many calls for solidarity are issued by movement leaders. Instead of the group hug approach, let's focus on tangible goals: fostering youth leadership, working from the margins in and using intersectionality as our lens—instead of just a talking point. Let's use this moment, when our politics and emotions are raw, to push for a better, more forward-looking feminism. JESSICA VALENTI

Jessica Valenti, the founder of Feministing.com, is the author of Full Frontal Feminism: A Young Woman's Guide to Why Feminism Matters.

Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

Unsettling Thought

What ever happened to Cheney?
He's never around anymore.
Could he be deep in his bunker
Planning that last little war?

The Kosovo Dilemma

It was not intended to turn out like this. Kosovo's declaration of independence was supposed to end the uncertainty over its future, stabilize the region and get reconstruction going. The declaration brought jubilation in Pristina, celebratory cakes in the streets and a rare feel-good moment in the White House. But it has enraged the Serbs, given the Russians another bargaining chip against the West and worried quite a few European nations that have longstanding secessionist groups of their own.

COMMENT

As an issue of principle, Kosovo cuts both ways. On the one hand, until recently international diplomacy acknowledged that the Serbs had a legitimate claim to the province and therefore sought their agreement before changing its status. On the other, the Serbs undermined their case by the way they treated Kosovo's Albanian majority. After the mass expulsions of 1999 in particular—whether they were in retaliation for NATO bombing or part of a long-prepared plan is immaterial here—it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

call me latereject Bush's illegal wiretapping

YOU CAN SAY MUCH MORE WITH YOUR

When you have a credo, you stand for something. CREDO Mobile stands for progressive causes like free speech, an end to the war in Iraq and a ban on warrantless wiretapping. If you stand for causes like these, join CREDO Mobile and help change the world each time you make a call. Go to **credomobile.com** or call **877.76.CREDO**, and say it with your phone.

Brought to you by your friends at Working Assets.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was impossible to imagine the Albanians living under Serbian rule. But at what point do human rights violations trump state sovereignty and permit intervention? As conceived, the UN Charter essentially rules this out, and in 2004 Kofi Annan implicitly acknowledged that not even the desire to prevent genocide necessarily legitimizes it. A state's behavior may be determined by the Security Council to constitute a threat to "international peace." But precisely this sanction was lacking during the 1999 NATO bombing. In short, neither the Serbs nor the Western powers supporting Kosovo's independence can unproblematically appeal to the idea of law.

Kosovo's future is as hazy as its past. The plan of UN special envoy Martti Ahtisaari, which the Kosovars have pledged to uphold, foresees a highly conditional sovereignty for the new state, ruling out Kosovo's joining any other country and building in safeguards for minorities, decentralized local government and international oversight for some time to come. Keeping the pressure on Pristina to honor these commitments and to exercise moderation in the face of Serbian hostility will keep both the UN and the EU fully stretched.

The UN's role in Kosovo is not over. But it is up to the EU to take the lead, not merely in monitoring standards of governance in Kosovo but in pushing for a broader regional settlement. The EU, unlike the UN, is not paralyzed on the issue. And it has the incentive, for Kosovo lies at the heart of the greatest challenge to stability in Europe today. The country is the smallest in the already fragmented Balkans, with the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest standard of living. If history is any guide, independence and economic fragmentation mean things are likely to get worse before they get better.

The EU can certainly make a difference. Thanks to its Stability Pact for southeastern Europe, other parts of the region are doing fine. For all their problems, Bulgaria and Romania, the EU's newest members, are already in a different league, larger in area and with significantly higher per capita income. Croatia is even more prosperous. But in the western Balkans we see the emergence of micro-states with income levels scraping the bottom of the European barrel. Kosovo may be the latest and the poorest, but Macedonia and Montenegro are not much better off, and Bosnia/Herzegovina is still as dysfunctional as a decade ago, with an unemployment rate second only to Kosovo's. The western Balkans cannot be isolated, and if their problems fester, Europe will suffer. Instability will flow outward and comparative advantage will favor drugs, prostitution and other kinds of smuggling over legitimate trade. Unfortunately, there is no quick fix.

The EU is already beefing up its commitment to Kosovo's neighbors, especially Albania and Macedonia. Without their cooperation and links to the outside world, the new country will stagnate. But the most vital part of the European equation is the hardest: Serbia. There the prospects are very poor. Boris Tadic, the pro-European president, may have to coexist for another three years with a Parliament dominated by one of the nastiest nationalist parties on the continent. Even before Kosovo declared independence, Prime Minister Vojislav Kostunica blocked the signature of a pre-membership agreement between the EU and Serbia, and recent polls suggest that an overwhelming proportion of Serbs refuse to enter the EU without Kosovo.

But there are a few hopeful signs. Tadic's recent re-election was one. And most Serbs when polled say they see their country's future as part of Europe. The EU's task is to increase its attractiveness to Serbian public opinion and do its best to disregard the nationalist provocations. Helping Serbia escape from its political and intellectual isolation is vital because, without some curb on nationalism and without Serbia's return to its central role in the region's economy, there is little chance that the countries around it will prosper either.

Relaxing visa restrictions on Serbs traveling to the EU will help. But the latter may have to think the previously unthinkable and decouple EU membership from the issue of past war crimes. Until now, handing over Bosnian war criminals Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic has been seen as the test of Serbs' willingness to accept the truth about what they did in Bosnia. But confronting the past can be a long-term process. Even Germany, unambiguously defeated in 1945, took more than a generation—long after West Germany's integration into Western political structures. The Serbs have lost in just a few years not only what they'd enjoyed since 1945 but almost all the territorial gains they made since emerging as an independent state in 1878. No state since Hungary in 1919 has lost so much. The Europeans need to show more sensitivity to the implications of this and decide what they want more: getting Serbs to see the past the way Europeans do, or getting Serbs to stop thinking about the past and focus on the future. This is not about letting up on the perpetrators of the Srebrenica massacre but preventing their fate from determining the pace of change. An unpalatable thought, even so. But one way or another, the EU is going to have to do a lot more to strengthen its allies in Serbia if the Kosovo imbroglio is not to destabilize the entire region.

MARK MAZOWER

Mark Mazower teaches history at Columbia. His Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe *will be published by Penguin in June.*

Nation Notes

Amy Alexander, a frequent *Nation* contributor, has been named an Alfred Knobler Fellow at The Nation Institute. Alexander's most recent book, *Lay My Burden Down: Suicide and the Mental Health Crisis Among African-Americans* (2000), is written with Alvin Poussaint, MD. She is the editor of *The Farrakhan Factor: African American Writers on Leadership, Nationhood, and Minister Louis Farrakhan* (1998) and the author of *Fifty Black Women Who Changed America* (1999). Alexander has also contributed to NPR, the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Chicago Tribune Book Review*, *Black Issues Book Review*, *Essence* and *Salon*.

Christian Parenti, who has reported for *The Nation* from Iraq, Afghanistan, Congo and Latin America, now joins our masthead as a contributing editor. He is the author, most recently, of *The Freedom: Shadows and Hallucinations in Occupied Iraq* (2004). His two previous books are *The Soft Cage: Surveillance in America From Slavery to the War on Terror* (2003) and *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis* (1999). Parenti, who received a 2007 Stanley Foundation Reporting Award, has also contributed to *The London Review of Books*, *Fortune*, *Playboy*, *Salon*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *In These Times* and *Mother Jones*.

Welcome, Amy and Christian!

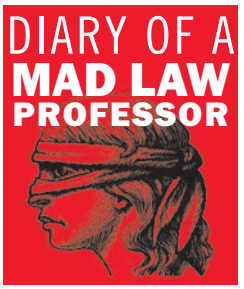
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Patricia J. Williams

House of Cards

It was delightful, those early days when Republicans were in fractious disarray and the Democratic field bloomed with interesting candidates like a pasture full of daffodils—any of them! All of them! Bluebirds sang. We were rolling in good will. Now, however, John McCain has unified the right with a lizardy, smothering oil of "my friend," "my friends" and "hey listen, pal." And Democrats are chewing each other's legs off. Instead of discussion about substantive positions, a distressingly large proportion of the debate is epitomized by an e-mail I received from a good friend: "In my state, a black man trumps a white woman and that's that. So what do you suggest?" Here's what I suggest.

1. *Black Jack does not always trump White Queen and vice versa.* The problem with the formulation of race-gender "trumping" is that it flattens Obama's and Clinton's complexities—their relative eloquence, her vote on the war, whether some voters love him because he's "so un-black a black man," their stances on civil liberties. It's the kind of bad logic that led some people to expect that then-nominee Clarence Thomas wouldn't be all that conservative because he's a black man. It's just bad algebra. Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton are black men, but it's hard to imagine them "trumping" Clinton. Similarly, it's not at all clear that Obama would fare as well against a more nimble and oratorically endowed female opponent, like the late Ann Richards, for example.



2. *There is no profit in styling a competition of oppression.* One ubiquitous subtext of the black man-trumps-white-woman calculus is that it's easier to be a black man than it is to be a white woman or, even more reductively, that sexism is worse than racism. It works alongside right-wing claims that racism isn't a problem anymore. That in turn fuels the not-so-coded diminishments asserting that Obama is getting "preferential" treatment in the media; that he's simultaneously "entitled" and "elite" yet "unqualified" and "not ready."

Here's an alternative way to think about it. Take the unnecessarily polarizing comparative out and stop this inanity of ranking. We can all acknowledge that Clinton has been drubbed with the foulest sexist stereotypes since Anita Hill. It is true that Hillary nutcrackers are sold in airports and that there is not yet an accompanying Stepin Fetchit version of a Barack Obama doll. But that hardly means we live a country in which racist imagery is ipso facto kinder and gentler than gender stereotypes. Turn on the TV and watch Flavor Flav perform goggle-eyed minstrelsy more demeaning than in the Jim Crow era. Pick up the newspaper and read that one in every fifteen black adults is incarcerated. So cheer up: from sex trafficking to the disaster in New Orleans, there's sufficient suffering to go around.

3. *There are multiple narratives of sexism and racism.* Stereotypes are malleable. They can be hybridized, coded, shifted across demographics, conjoined with other isms like class or ethnic prejudice, foregrounded or backgrounded. The "trumped white woman" version of sexism, for example, ignores the degree to which Michelle Obama is often described in terms depressingly similar to those of Hillary Clinton: she's too outspoken, not domestic enough, going to tank her husband's candidacy by not knowing her place. Similarly, if few are openly hurling the N-word at Obama, what to make of Bill O'Reilly's hankering to "lynch" the missus instead? And why would anyone think that Barack HUSSEIN "Osama—oops, I mean Obama" is getting a free pass from our new-age profiles in prejudice? There's also the complication of how we inject class into narratives of race and sex. Any black person not categorizable as "underclass" has historically been sorted into one of two categories: (a) an upper-class person whose blackness is eliminated or (b) an uppity black whose personhood is eliminated. A large shadow of that anxiety-provoking split hangs over Obama: he's the "articulate, clean" exception washed of all relation to race. And he's also the daring "race man," the opener-of-doors for whose physical safety the community prays.

4. "*If he were/if she were" has become the new "he said/she said.*" Recently, Geraldine Ferraro declared that "if Barack Obama were a woman, we'd be saying, Are you kidding?" By that she apparently meant that we wouldn't be taking him seriously. It made me sag with utter dejection—even without trying to imagine what kind of silly, unserious woman she was imagining him to be: Indonesian-raised white? *Harvard Law Review*–credentialed black? Or perhaps she was speaking out of pure transference, so that he-as-a-she would look a lot like her. That same day *Newsweek* published a cover story asking if Obama might become our first woman President. By that it meant he listens, he negotiates, he plays well with others. Again my head began to throb: Bill Clinton is cast as our first black President because he's such a bad boy, while Obama has to be our first female President because he's too nice to be a black man?

If we are going to play this pernicious game of projection, why not pull out all the vulgar stops: If John McCain were a woman, we'd call him a girly-man. If John Edwards were Latina, we'd love his healthy head of hair. But this is patent nonsense. Why don't we try "he is/she is" for a change? Both Democratic candidates represent diversely layered demographics—ones that describe our future. Clinton is a strong, determined, immensely resilient woman; Obama is a culturally amalgamous, quietly brilliant, elegantly intellectual man. They are both tremendously well educated, making all of us the lucky beneficiaries of affirmative action policies that have reconfigured the playing field to include the two of them.

Now we need to direct our attention where it belongs. As President, McCain would do away with what's left of affirmative action, *Roe* and habeas corpus. He has been schooled for war and more war. He is committed to and implicated in almost all the domestic and economic lunacies of the Bush Administration. It would be tragic if he strolled in for a touchdown while the rest of us were playing card games in the end zone. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eric Alterman

(Some) Jews Against Obama

During the past few months a small group of neoconservative Jews, many of whom hold key positions in the world of official Jewish institutions, have been working to undermine the presidential candidacy of Barack Obama with a series of carefully planted character assassinations and deliberately misleading innuendo. I noticed this trend when Debra Feuer, a counsel for the American Jewish Committee, sent a confidential memo to her counterparts at other organizations criticizing Obama's views on the Middle East, Iran and Syria and attacking him for having once appeared at a fundraiser headlined by the late Edward Said. The memo, reported by the *Forward*, was immediately disowned, but not denied, by AJC executive director David Harris.

Also throwing his hatchet into the ring was Morton Klein, who heads up the Likud-loving Zionist Organization of America, complaining that "Barack Obama doesn't understand the continuing Arab war against Israel" and terming the notion of an Obama presidency "frightening." He was joined by Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice president of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the umbrella group that professes to speak for all American Jews. Hoenlein told the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* that Obama's talk of "change" could prove "an opening for all kinds of mischief" and gave voice to what he termed "a legitimate concern over the zeitgeist around the campaign." The Tennessee Republican Party issued a news release noting what it claimed was "a growing chorus of Americans concerned about the future of the nation of Israel, the only stable democracy in the Middle East, if Sen. Barack Hussein Obama is elected president of the United States."

Let us note first of all that, like every American politician for the past half-century or so with nondelusional presidential aspirations, Obama views the crisis of Israel/Palestine largely through an Israeli lens. He asserts that he would not even be in politics at all were it not for the support he has enjoyed from his local Jewish community. He called Israel one of "our most important allies" and added, "I think that its security is sacrosanct and that the United States has a special relationship with Israel, as I myself do with the Jewish community."

Thanks in part to statements like those, the neoconnish campaign against Obama was not able to gain much traction. Perhaps as a consequence, as the *Forward* has editorialized, "the attacks on Obama have metastasized into a wide-ranging assault on his associations." These attacks, as blogger Matthew Yglesias notes, have largely amounted to the following: "First Obama was an anti-Semite because Zbigniew Brzezinski is an anti-Semite. Then Obama was an anti-Semite because Robert Malley is an anti-Semite. And now according to [*Commentary*'s Noah] Pollack it's Samantha Power who's tainted by Jew-hatred."

The surrogate slurs have come from many sources. Writing on AmericanThinker.com, right-wing blogger Ed Lasky argued that Malley, an Obama adviser and former Clinton national security official, "represents the next generation of anti-Israel activism." CAMERA, the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, took this a step further by investigating Malley's roots and declaring that "Malley's parents were rabidly anti-Israel" and that Malley's articles on Middle East issues "demonize Israel only slightly less than his father." This is nonsense, naturally. Former National Security Adviser Sandy Berger and former State Department officials Dennis Ross, Martin Indyk, Aaron David Miller and Daniel Kurtzer, all of whom worked with Malley, signed a letter denouncing "a series of vicious personal attacks" against him. Regarding the much admired Ms. Power, neocon foreign policy wonk Max Boot has taken his colleague Pollack to task for his misleading attack on her views in *Commentary*'s blog "Contentions," where the attacks originally appeared.

According to a report in *Newsweek*, Ann Lewis, a senior adviser to Hillary Clinton, made reference during a conference call with Jewish leaders to Brzezinski, whom she falsely labeled Obama's "chief foreign policy adviser." (In fact, according to Brzezinski, he has advised Obama on a total of one occasion.) While Brzezinski did anger some Jews with his endorsement of the controversial Walt/Mearsheimer book, his views are not only well within the foreign policy mainstream; they are also completely consistent with those expressed by a majority of American Jews—far more so than those hawks who profess to speak in their name.

In a remarkably stupid line of questioning during the final Democratic debate, Tim Russert demanded over and over that Obama reject Louis Farrakhan's kind words for him so that Jews might feel a bit more comfortable with him. (In fact, according to exit polls, Obama has beaten Clinton among Jewish voters in California, Connecticut and Massachusetts, while she has bested him in New York, New Jersey and Maryland.) When Obama decided to indulge Russert and "reject and denounce" Farrakhan, Russert kept up his lunatic line of questioning by demanding that Obama reject Russert's misstated version of his Protestant minister's views as well.

What is it that these neocons and their media mouthpieces really fear about an Obama presidency? Perhaps it is honesty about the issue. Speaking to a largely Jewish audience in Cleveland, Obama explained, "There is a strain within the pro-Israel community that says unless you adopt an unwavering pro-Likud approach to Israel, you're anti-Israel and that can't be the measure of our friendship with Israel." Then came his kicker: "One of the things that struck me when I went to Israel was how much more open the debate was around these issues in Israel than they are sometimes here in the United States." No wonder he scares them so… ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Would Jesus Vote For?

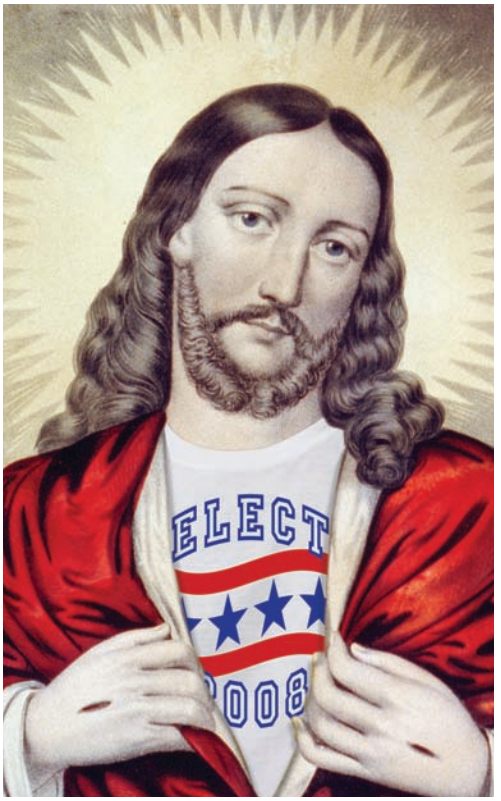
The new evangelicals are rejecting the religious right and embracing a broader social gospel.

by BOB MOSER

Longwood, Florida

PURPLE AMERICA

On the late-January Sunday before this state's decisive Republican primary, former Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee got praised and blessed and prayed over during morning services at one of the biggest conservative megachurches in the political swing region of Central Florida, Orlando's 14,000-member First Baptist. In a time when the much-ballyhooed evangelical political machine shows unmistakable signs of flying apart and scattering in uncertain directions, here was a momentary return to the old order. Here was Pastor David Uth doing just what an evangelical megaminister is supposed to do—anointing the nearest thing to a theocratic candidate as the more or less official choice of his church, while simultaneously sending the not so subtle signal that has issued forth from the nation's pulpits for three decades now: Christians vote Republican.



But while Uth was reinforcing that well-worn commandment, his encomium of Huckabee had something fresh about it. Rather than emphasize the governor's Dark Age convictions on culture-war issues, or his wild-eyed pledge to amend the Constitution in the Lord's image, Uth told a story dating from the civil rights era. His father had tried to integrate his Baptist flock in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and, to make a long story short, the Uths got run out of town by the Klan. But the elder Pastor Uth was followed in the Pine Bluff pulpit by a young Mike Huckabee, who successfully "broke the race barrier." His admiration for the candidate, Uth said, stems from their common conviction that if the church "isn't for everybody, it isn't for anybody."

If this wasn't exactly revolutionary talk—and if Huckabee hadn't exactly run the kind of inclusive campaign Uth's anecdote suggests—the change in tone is characteristic of the sharp, surprising turn evangelical politics is taking. Even if you're endorsing Huckabee, it seems, you're duty-bound in 2008 to find a broad-minded rationale for doing it.

Just four years ago, when unprecedented turnout by born-again "values voters" was credited with ensuring George W. Bush's re-election, the political face of evangelicalism was Focus on the Family founder James Dobson, screeching red-faced to football-sized crowds about gay marriage as "the Waterloo," "Gettysburg" and a force that "will destroy the earth." Now the Moral Majority generation of Dobson, Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and Phyllis Schlafly, the folks who fired up politically apathetic born-again Christians in the 1970s by declaring war on public schools, abortion rights, gay rights and "liberalism," has lost its grip on the movement—partly by refusing to expand their agendas to suit a rising generation of younger evangelicals who care more about global warming than winning elections for corporate Republicans, more about combating poverty than denouncing homosexuality. With one-quarter of Americans identifying themselves as evangelicals—about 4 percent more than those who say they're mainline Protestants—the political stakes could hardly be higher. But the political upshot could hardly be murkier.

Twenty miles up the road, deep in the suburbs of Seminole County, a more thoroughgoing departure from Moral Majority–style politics is on display that same Sunday at Northland, Central Florida's cutting-edge megachurch. More than 12,000 folks—mostly middle-class, mostly white—praise Him here at four elaborately choreographed services each weekend. They're drawn not only by the rock-concert atmospherics and full-service approach (preschool, childcare, coffee bar) but also by the genial magnetism and post-religious-right message of the Rev. Joel Hunter.

And what, pray tell, does "post-religious-right" mean, exactly? In Northland's case, on this critical political Sunday, it means that almost nothing is said about politics. During his opening announcements, director of student ministries Sean Cooper, a lanky 34-year-old in slim-fitting prewashed jeans, encourages first-time voters to "believe in the process that God has called this country to." That's as political as it gets. Cooper segues into the four-piece house band, which ably thumps its way through two trippy tunes of U2-inspired praise rock, both tied to Hunter's equally trippy theme for the day: "Beautiful Collision." The concept comes from liberal theologian N.T. Wright, who observed that the purpose of Jesus' work was to bring heaven to earth, resulting in inevitable "explosions." Materializing onstage, Hunter kicks off his message by proclaiming: "They say at the birth of the universe, there was a big bang. I can believe it!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

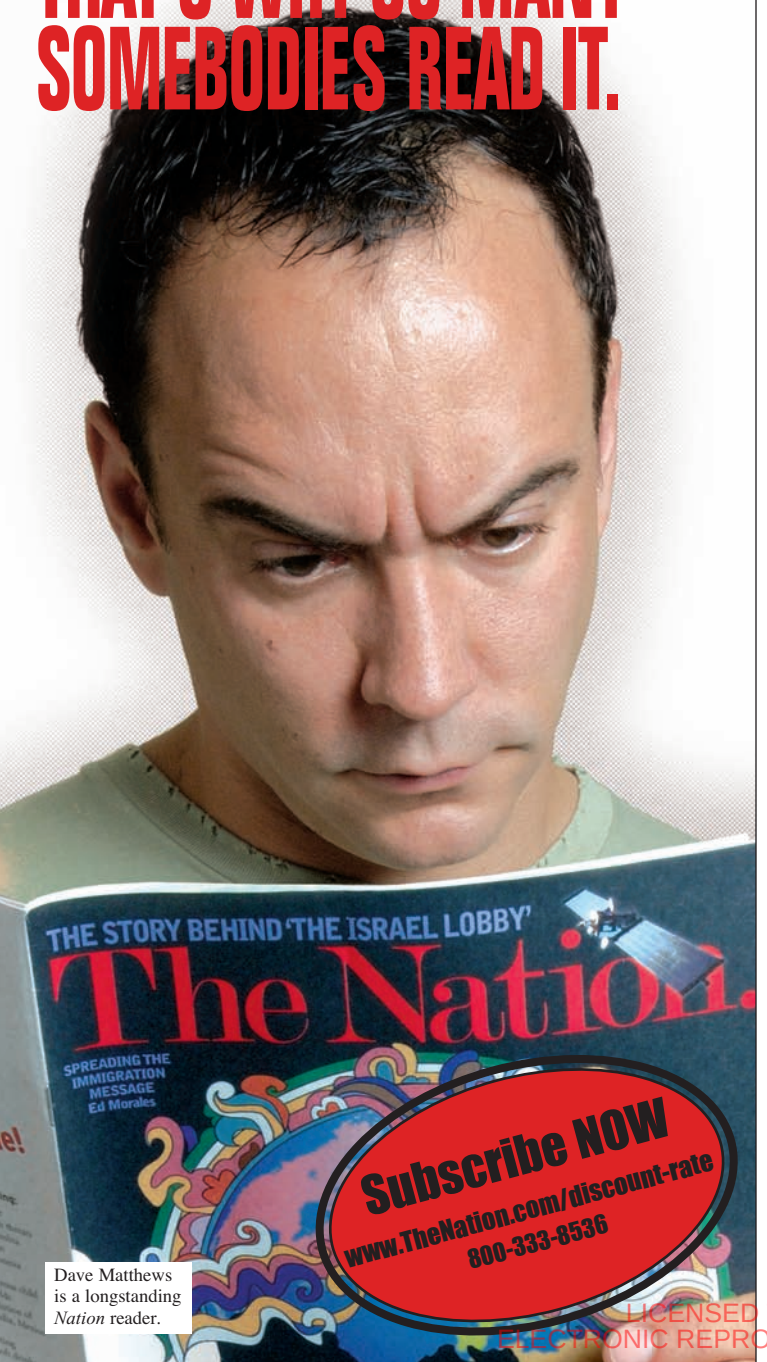
Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or Time Warner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all–too–private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.



Dave Matthews is a longstanding *Nation* reader.

It's impossible to imagine Jerry Falwell opening an election week sermon quite like this—and with an implicit embrace of a scientific fundamental, for goodness' sakes. But, then, Hunter's chief aim is to crack open the closed minds of his fellow conservatives. "He's the only evangelical pastor I've ever heard call on his congregation to donate during an NPR pledge drive," says Mark Pinsky, the *Orlando Sentinel*'s religion writer, who has followed Hunter's ascendancy for more than a decade. "Certainly the only one who references *Foreign Affairs* in his sermons—I mean, *I* don't read *Foreign Affairs*."

Hunter clearly relishes kicking against his parishioners' limits, intellectually, spiritually and politically. On election Sunday, his sermon is chock-full of reminders that this is not your grandfather's evangelicalism. He makes a playful break from hidebound literalism: "There were twelve apostles," he says at one point, interrupting himself to add, "maybe a few more than that. Maybe a hundred." He distances himself from the feel-good Christianity of prosperity preachers: "A lot of times life doesn't get better" when a person accepts Christ, he says. "It's hard. Things become not clearer but more complicated." And he embraces mainstream culture, informing the folks that he's agreed to an interview on *The Colbert Report*. "Anybody can be on a religion channel," he says. "But when Christians are on the news channel, on the Comedy Channel, we're out there where God is.… What we're interested in is taking the Bible out of these rooms."

Like *Purpose-Driven Life* author and pastor Rick Warren and the Rev. Bill Hybels, who heads the 12,000-church Willow Creek network, the 59-year-old Hunter has vaulted to national prominence as a frontman for the new wave of evangelicalism—a fast-spreading movement intent on expanding the scope of Christian politics beyond the Falwell/Dobson generation's obsessions. "You've gotta go back to the re-engagement of Christian activism in the '70s," Hunter tells me later, to understand how the movement took the form it did. "All of these new things had started happening with the cultural shift and the free sex, and abortion, and taking prayer out of the schools.… There arose some real reaction, and it was really negative, very protectionistic." The political push for "moral values," he says, "wasn't bad. But I think there was a fixation on a very narrow agenda, a very self-centered agenda.… It was a very kind of paranoid language and still is to this day, partly because that's the easiest way to mobilize people and raise money." But it's not the end of the story, Hunter said. "You start tilting toward, 'Wait a minute. Are we just against stuff, or are we actually for something? Can we really build something good instead of just being against something bad?'"

What this "something good" might add up to, particularly when it comes to politics, is anybody's guess. At Northland on this election Sunday, the clues are decidedly mixed. When he finally gets to politics, Hunter asks the congregation to consider signing the petition for a statewide referendum on gay marriage. And then, having reverted momentarily to classic Christian-right politics (though not of the red-faced variety), Hunter offers one last reminder of how things are evolving. Go vote on Tuesday, he says. But don't expect your pastor to tell you how, or for whom. "I don't care who you vote for," Hunter says, shrugging theatrically. "Vote your values. Vote what you think Jesus' values would be." He laughs. "As close as you can get!"

Bob Moser is a Nation *contributing writer.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the grim days after the 2004 elections, when the religious right was basking in the credit for an unlikely Republican triumph, I asked the Rev. Mel White, a former ghostwriter and filmmaker for Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and Billy Graham who now leads the LGBT rights group Soulforce, what progressives and Democrats could do to reach out to evangelical voters. It has to involve a message that emphasizes what the two sides have in common, White said: "We forget that Jesus was intent on liberating us from materialism—while fundamentalists are all about materialism. Jesus' message was: 'Sell everything you have; give your money to the poor; take up your cross and follow me.' The real Jesus calls us to justice and mercy." But while "the Republican Party has framed all the issues in moral terms, the Democrats have framed the issues mostly in economic terms," said liberal evangelist Tony Campolo. They haven't been asking voters to see "moral values" in social terms, rather than those of personal morality.

The social gospel has been taken up in this campaign by Barack Obama and John Edwards, who have spoken often about the deep influence their personal faith has on shaping their progressive politics. But, as White cautioned me then, there is only so much that the Democrats can do about changing evangelicals' minds and hearts. "Only people of faith can take on people of faith who've gone nuts," White said.

None of the rising generation of evangelical leaders have been more outspoken, and for longer, than Joel Hunter. In 1988, when Northland was still meeting in a skating rink, he became alarmed by Pat Robertson's campaign for President and penned a warning tract called *Right Wing, Wrong Bird*, observing rather bracingly that "Christians have this image of just being raving lunatics; and in some respects, it is well-deserved." Hunter exhorted evangelicals to think for themselves, to look past the culture-war issues that had come to define Christian politics.

At the time, Hunter's dissenting voice was drowned out by the media-amplified cacophony of the Falwells, Dobsons and Robertsons. But by 2006, when Hunter mounted his most audacious challenge to the religious-right hierarchy, new voices were being heard. There was the Rev. Jim Wallis, whose book tour for *God's Politics* turned into a Christian left mini-revival. There was Gregory Boyd, losing 1,000 congregants in his St. Paul megachurch after delivering a series of six "Cross and the Sword" sermons decrying Christian-right imperialism in the frankest terms: "Never in history have we had a Christian theocracy where it wasn't bloody and barbaric," Boyd said. "I am sorry to tell you that America is not the light of the world and the hope of the world. The light of the world and hope of the world is Jesus Christ." There was former rock guitarist Rob Bell, "revolutionary" leader of Mars Hill Bible Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, preaching a Bible-centered social gospel for young evangelicals while poking the Christian right in its tenderest spot: "Religious people killed Jesus because he threatened their system. So what they say is faith is actually fear…it is fear that is rooted in ignorance and, actually, a lack of faith."

Hunter took a flying leap of faith in 2006, when he signed on to the unlikely challenge of reviving the debt-plagued, internally divided Christian Coalition. The episode made headlines when he resigned before officially assuming the post. He says he made clear his intention to refocus the coalition toward "compassion issues," but once rank-and-file coalition stalwarts got wind of Hunter's blunt opinions about religious-right excesses, his opposition to the death penalty and support for a two-state solution in Israel-Palestine, his backing withered. Hunter now wonders, "Man, what was I thinking?" But, he says, "I was curious as to whether or not any of the traditional hard-right organizations could really expand the agenda."

He got his answer. But the story made great copy, and it turned Hunter into a symbol of the generational clash in evangelical politics. In 2007 the National Association of Evangelicals asked him to star in a thirty-second "Creation Care" commercial promoting its Evangelical Climate Initiative. "Did you know that evangelical leaders are telling us that global warming must be stopped because it will bring more devastating floods, droughts and disease?" Hunter asks in the spot. It sounded meek enough, but it set off a major fuss among traditionalists—Dobson, Gary Bauer et al.—who sent the NAE a strongly worded letter of objection, clearly fearing an ignominious retreat toward the gentle social gospel of mainline Protestantism. Hunter, who'd gotten death threats after publicly supporting an independent Palestine, was still surprised at the blowback against Creation Care. "It was, 'You're un-American. You hate America because you believe America ought to do things.'"

'I don't care who you vote for,' says the Rev. Joel Hunter. 'Vote what you think Jesus' values would be. As close as you can get!'

Which is precisely the point of the new politics, he told me the week before the Florida primaries: doing things. Redeem the Vote, an evangelical and ostensibly nonpartisan effort to register young voters, had come to Seminole County in the form of a bus full of registration forms, Cokes and doughnuts, and Hunter was holding forth in the breezy chill outside with some college-aged kids from Northland. There is now, Hunter said, "this whole younger generation of evangelicals who say, 'You know? I'm not so sure that I'm mad at anybody. But I care about the earth. I care about poor people. I care about those who have been exploited by the system. So I don't care what's conservative or liberal; I care about getting stuff done.'"

Jeremiah Shaw, a student at nearby Rollins College, comes as near as anybody to exemplifying that generation. He's a registered independent and still undecided about a candidate even after Hunter's seminar on the presidential candidates the week before. (The main topic, he said, was Obama.) An international affairs major, Shaw said he's "heavily involved in Africa, working with villages with orphaned children." When I asked him about "moral issues"—like the controversy over prochoice Obama speaking at Rick Warren's conference on global AIDS—Shaw pshawed. "I don't find that controversial, actually. The more people are educated about the pandemic, the better off we are."

Under-30 evangelicals like Shaw hold the keys to a new political kingdom. They are less likely to be weekly churchgoers,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

less likely to be biblical literalists and they believe that the government should do more to protect the environment. On the core culture-war issue of gay marriage, they increasingly stray from the fold, with fewer than half favoring a gay-marriage ban. While they remain overwhelmingly antiabortion, a large majority would like a civil cease-fire in the abortion wars. And they are all too vividly aware of the unflattering reputation given to the name "Christian" by many of their evangelical elders. When I asked Shaw if people ever assume he's going to be narrow-minded and hateful when they find out he's a Christian, he laughed. "All the time, man. And I always find myself kind of saying, 'I'm a Christian, but…' I try to model my life on Jesus' life, not on that other kind of Christianity. And I'm going to try and vote the same way." All of Vote's invitation to pray was Senator Obama, the other winner there. The group was credited with helping increase voter turnout among "faith voters" and under-30s.

But who is Redeem the Vote bringing to caucuses and primaries? Jeff Sharlet, an editor of therevealer.org, which reviews religion and the press, has called it a "thinly-veiled GOP vote machine." After all, with the focus on Christian colleges and concerts, those being reached are going to come, overwhelmingly, from Republican homes. But Brinson insists there's nothing partisan in Redeem the Vote's pitch. "Just because we're from the faith community, we're not antagonistic toward the Democratic Party," he says. "And just because we're interested in issues like healthcare and poverty, we're also not hostile to the Republican Party."

This even-handedness sounds like a bit of a stretch to some, especially given that Brinson is chair of the Christian Coalition of Alabama (much weakened after financial scandals and a mass right-wing defection, but hardly "nonpartisan"). Sharlet also noted that the effort in 2004 was heavily staffed by students of the religious-right Patrick Henry College and that the Redeem the Vote board—of which Huckabee was briefly chair before he ran for President—is overwhelmingly Republican despite the inclusion of evangelical Democrats. Though this year's edition includes at least one Democratic staffer, with whom I spoke, Redeem the Vote's "partners" still include Fox News and Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network.

In 2008 'Democrats can peel away 15 to 25 percent of white evangelicals, as Carter and Clinton did,' says religion reporter Mark Pinsky.

which would have made his pastor proud. Except that Hunter was busy at the moment, across the street at the elections office, casting an early vote for Huckabee.

For students at Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama, on the brisk, blowy Friday morning before Super Tuesday, there is no missing the Redeem the Vote bus. Pumping Christian rock from exterior speakers, it has parked smack dab in front of the campus union. All morning students pass by, eyeing the spectacle somewhat suspiciously as local TV cameras and a reporter from Sweden mill around on the sidewalk and chat with Redeem the Vote's three-person staff. When they venture close, the students are seized upon by a lanky, balding, high-octane fellow asking rapid-fire questions: "Are you registered? Are you planning to vote? Good. Absentee? Well, look, you're going to need to know what the law is for absentee voting in the state where you're from. We have all kinds of information inside the bus…"

With his wife, Pam, Randy Brinson, a successful gastroenterologist in Montgomery, founded Redeem the Vote in 2003. This vigorous, seat-of-the-pants push to register young voters became an unlikely smash in 2004, with estimates of newly Redeemed voters ranging from 78,000 to nearly 100,000. The effort was boosted by PSAs featuring *Passion of the Christ* star Jim Caviezel, which aired for free on some 2,500 Christian radio stations and flashed on Jumbotrons at Christian concerts and festivals. "*USA Today* called us the most influential group in the 2004 elections," Brinson says. This year, the bus—a new twist—has pulled onto twenty college campuses and countless church parking lots during early primaries. In Iowa, Redeem the Vote set up tables at rallies for both Democratic and Republican candidates, while offering the Brinsons' e-mail database—which they claim is to be the largest in the country—to candidates of both parties. The only one to make extensive use of the database, which *US News & World Report* deemed "God's black book," was Huckabee, who won the state. The only candidate besides the Arkansan to accept Redeem the

But the point of Redeem the Vote, Brinson says, is not to multiply Republicanism but to disperse evangelicals' political power across the spectrum. "Evangelicals in their voting blocs were supposed to be like sheep," he tells me. His mission, like that of Hunter and Warren and Bell, is to combat that sheeplike behavior. By the time the bus pulls out of Birmingham, about 100 Samford students have registered and solemnly promised to vote. (The day before, the Redeemers made successful stops at two public universities, signing up about 200 new voters at traditionally black Alabama State in Montgomery, and upward of 100 at Auburn University.) What clearly interests Brinson more than the numbers is what happens when he can lure an audience into the bus. Around 11 AM, he is perched in the middle of its comfy lounge area, surrounded by a Samford journalism class, doing his darnedest to make them think.

In the course of ten minutes, Brinson plunges into all sorts of uncomfortable territory: gay "lifestyles" ("everybody is a unique creation of God"), abortion ("if a woman has ended up in a situation where she feels compelled to make that decision, we're not going to condemn her for that") and, finally—eyeing his mostly female audience—something that really wakes them up. "There is a strong connection between domestic abuse and the traditional idea of male supremacy and wifely submission to husbands in the church," he says. "The gay community puts more resources into this issue, into fighting domestic abuse and violence, than anybody!" he thundered.

The students seem a bit dumbstruck by it all. Eventually Brinson dials back his voice. "Can I pray with you?" The students nod yes, yes, a little nervously. "Lord," he says rather tenderly, "I just pray that you light them up."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whatever the short-term partisan effect of efforts like Redeem the Vote, there's no question that the rising generation of evangelicals are looking at politics from very different angles. While they voted overwhelmingly for Bush in 2004, there is good reason to believe that the GOP's edge will soften, perhaps considerably, over time. Among other moderating influences, younger Bible believers see the role of government in a vastly different way from older evangelicals; 60 percent believe that government should work to redistribute wealth more evenly. Their elders generally believed—in sync with Reaganism—that government should be small and people should fend for themselves with the Lord's assistance. When the most popular magazine for young evangelicals, *Relevant*, asked readers recently to characterize their "political views on social issues (healthcare, poverty)," the largest portion, 44 percent, called themselves "liberal." Asked, "Who do you think was a better president?" 55 percent picked Clinton over Bush. Asked the most crucial question of all, "Who would Jesus vote for?" the most popular answer was a Democrat, Barack Obama, at 29 percent.

"Obama holds the youth card," says Samford student Caroline Bell. She has friends on campus working on his campaign, and that's OK with her, even though she is working for John McCain and the local GOP. "I'm not one to play the Christian card. We want to move away from that, to no longer be thinking, 'Is this the Christian view? Is this the Christian candidate?' It's a whole lot more about policies now."

"It's almost shocking," says Rob Howell, Samford's student government president, "that abortion and gay marriage were so important before, and now those issues have disappeared." Instead, "People are talking about healthcare and social reform. The economy is talked about more than anything. There's a lot of focus on the war and on the morality of our foreign policy. One of the main objections I hear is our insistence on being an occupying force in a foreign country." It all cuts the Democrats' way, he says, except that the perception of the party as "anti-religion" lingers. "It's not as prevalent as it used to be," Howell says, "but it's still there beneath the surface."

The trend away from slavish evangelical loyalty to the GOP clearly constitutes a gathering storm for the party; Republicans stand to lose not only millions of voters but also their "faith-based" edge in grassroots organizing and voter mobilization. Meanwhile, as *Time* magazine's "Nation" editor Amy Sullivan, author of *The Party Faithful: How and Why Democrats Are Closing the God Gap*, has written, "this is a better moment for Democrats to pick up support from religious moderates"—a group that includes 40 percent of evangelicals—"than any other time in the past few decades. That's because evangelicals themselves are the ones who are broadening the faith agenda." This broadening is overdue, when you consider that 40 percent of Bush's evangelical voters in 2004 also considered themselves "liberals" on economic issues. Fewer than half—most of them over 45—say Dobson or Robertson speaks for them politically. In 2008, says Mark Pinsky, "Democrats can peel away 15 to 25 percent of white evangelicals, as Carter and Clinton did."

But in the long run, the direction of evangelical politics is about as clear as the Book of Revelation. Even when former

We let a river shower its banks with a spirit that invades the people living there, and we protect that river, knowing that without its blessings the people have no source of soul.

- Thomas Moore

WATER HERITAGE TRUST

WWW.WATERHERITAGETRUST.ORG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

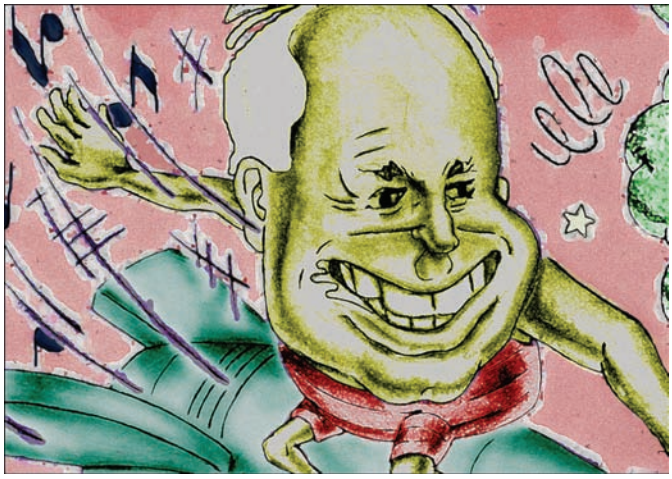
religious-right leaders like Frank Schaeffer endorse Obama, as he did recently on The Huffington Post, they are hardly calling for a mass defection to the Democratic Party. "In 2000, we elected a president who claimed he believed God created the earth," Schaeffer wrote, echoing a widespread view, "and who, as president, put car manufacturers and oil companies' interests ahead of caring for that creation. We elected a prolife Republican Congress that did nothing to actually care for pregnant women and babies. And they took their sincere evangelical followers for granted, and played them for suckers."

Evangelical moderates and progressives are increasingly making one thing clear: they won't be suckered again. Which will make them as much of a challenge, going forward, for Democrats and progressives as for Republicans and conservatives. "We don't think Jesus is a Democrat," cautioned Tony Campolo, "any more than we think he's a Republican." ■

Hothead McCain

The presumptive GOP nominee favors US unilateralism and "rogue state rollback."

by ROBERT DREYFUSS



ROB SUSSMAN

If you've followed Senator John McCain at all, you've heard about his tendency to, well, explode. He's erupted at numerous Senate colleagues, including many Republicans, at the slightest provocation. "The thought of his being President sends a cold chill down my spine. He is erratic. He is hotheaded. He loses his temper, and he worries me," wrote Republican Senator Thad Cochran, shortly before endorsing McCain.

You've heard about his penchant for bellicose rhetoric, whether appropriating a Beach Boys song in threatening to bomb Iran or telling Russian President Vladimir Putin that he doesn't care what he thinks about American plans to install missiles in Eastern Europe.

And you've heard, no doubt, about McCain's stubbornness. "No dissent, no opinion to the contrary, however reasonable, will be entertained," says Larry Wilkerson, a retired army colonel who was former Secretary of State Colin Powell's top aide. "Hardheaded is another way to say it. Arrogant is another way to say it. Hubristic is another way to say it. Too proud for his own good is another way to say it. It's a quality about him that disturbs me."

But what you may not have heard is an extended critique of the kind of Commander in Chief that Captain McCain might be. To combat what he likes to call "the transcendent challenge [of] radical Islamic extremism," McCain is drawing up plans for a new set of global institutions, from a potent covert operations unit to a "League of Democracies" that can bypass the balky United Nations, from an expanded NATO that will bump up against Russian interests in Central Asia and the Caucasus to a revived US unilateralism that will engage in "rogue state rollback" against his version of the "axis of evil." In all, it's a new apparatus designed to carry the "war on terror" deep into the twenty-first century.

"We created a number of institutions in the wake of World War II to deal with the situation," says Randy Scheunemann, McCain's top adviser on foreign policy. "And what Senator McCain wants to begin a dialogue about is, Do we need new structures and new institutions, both internally, in the US government, and externally, to recognize that the situation we face now is very, very different than the one we faced during the cold war?" Joining Scheunemann, a veteran neoconservative strategist and one of the chief architects of the Iraq War, are a panoply of like-minded neocons who've gathered to advise McCain, including Bill Kristol, James Woolsey, Robert Kagan, Max Boot, Gary Schmitt and Maj. Ralph Peters. "There are some who've moved into his camp who scare me," Wilkerson says. "*Scare* me."

If McCain intends to be a shoot first, ask questions later President, consider a couple of the new institutions he's outlined, which seem designed to facilitate an unencumbered, interventionist foreign policy.

First is an unnamed "new agency patterned after the…Office of Strategic Services," the rambunctious, often out-of-control World War II–era covert-ops team. "A modern day OSS could draw together specialists in unconventional warfare; covert action operators; and experts in anthropology, advertising, and other relevant disciplines," wrote McCain in *Foreign Affairs*. "Like the original OSS, this would be a small, nimble, can-do organization" that would "fight terrorist subversion [and] take risks." It's clear that McCain wants to set up an agency to conduct paramilitary operations, covert action and psy-ops.

This idea is McCain's response to a longstanding critique of the CIA by neoconservatives such as Richard Perle, who have accused the agency of being "risk averse." Since 2001 the CIA has engaged in a bitter battle with the White House and the Pentagon on issues that include the Iraq War and Iran's nuclear weapons program. The agency lost a major skirmish with the creation of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, which put the White House more directly in charge of the intelligence community. And now McCain wants to put the final nail

Robert Dreyfuss is a Nation *contributing editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

GEORGE BUSH'S ODD PASSION TO PROTECT AT&T AND OTHER PHONE GIANTS

By Michael Kieschnick
President, CREDO Mobile

Why in the world would President Bush be "willing to let Americans die to protect the phone companies," as Sen. Ted Kennedy said last year?

Most lawsuits against the Bush Administration for its notorious warrantless spying on Americans have been tossed out on national security grounds. All that is left is about 40 lawsuits against the telecom giants themselves, for cooperating with the administration in spying on Americans. But Bush has committed to vetoing any national security law, even one offering greater protection against terrorism, unless it includes retroactive immunity for the telecom companies, shielding them from just these lawsuits.

Why such passion on behalf of AT&T? This is not really about spying, terrorism or phone companies. We got here because the Bush Administration believes that in a time of war, the Commander in Chief has no limits on his powers. Various Bush attorneys general, spokespeople, and White House counsels have repeatedly — if reluctantly — confirmed this. While laws including the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) exist specifically to govern the use of wiretapping in a time of danger, the White House acted like the law wasn't there — and the telecom companies went along.

AT&T, Verizon and possibly others (full disclosure: CREDO Mobile uses the network of Sprint) collaborated in illegally spying on Americans. Now the White House wants retroactive telecom immunity precisely so that it does not have to reveal how it has trampled our laws and our Constitution under its radical theory of unlimited presidential power.

Arrayed against the powerful forces of the dark side has been an unusual array of civil libertarians, national security experts, bloggers, and a handful of principled elected officials, as well as, I am proud to say, one telephone company: CREDO. When we started, nobody would have predicted that a lone independent phone company could play a key role in slowing down, let alone possibly defeating, yet another in a long line of Bush Administration fear-based victories. Yet over 100,000 of our members participated in every possible way: petitions, letters, and meetings with Congressional aides. CREDO activists have opposed retroactive immunity with nearly a million calls, letters, emails, faxes and, yes, text messages — and as I write this today, the House of Representatives has yet to yield to Bush.

During this fight, most of our attention has been on members of Congress. But the phone companies – the nominal object of President Bush's veto threats and bluster — have managed to stay out of the limelight. Whether their past crimes are immunized or not, they should answer to their own customers about the choices they made: were they willing partners with Bush in his quest for unlimited power, or did they say no? Next time you call your phone company's customer service line and fight your way through a nine-step phone tree to reach a human being, ask them about how they protect your privacy. Or better yet, do it today, using our special website where you can ask the CEOs of all the giant telecom companies to put on the record what they did and to commit to obeying the law in the future.

www.defendmyprivacy.org

And what about CREDO's privacy policy? We would never hand over records to the government just because it asked. But we engaged in this fight precisely because phone calls travel over many networks and via microwaves and radio waves, and no single company can truly protect your privacy without the right laws, a Congress with the backbone to stand up to abuse, and a citizenry willing and empowered to stand up for our rights.

And rest assured that the employees and members of CREDO will continue to defend the Constitution against Mr. Bush and all those who enable him. We hope you will join us.

Brought to you by Working Assets.

A series of commentaries from the mobile phone company that supports progressive causes. ***credomobile.com***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the CIA's coffin by creating a gung-ho operations force. Scheunemann, who credits Max Boot of the Council on Foreign Relations with the idea, says the new agency is urgently needed to "meet the threats of the twenty-first century in a time of war, much as the OSS was created in a time of war." And he disparages the CIA as a bunch of has-beens. The new agency would eclipse "an organization created to meet the needs of the cold war and hang out in embassies and try to recruit a major or two or deal with walk-in defectors," Scheunemann told *The Nation*.

But John McLaughlin, a former deputy director of the CIA who retired in 2004, is more than skeptical, and he worries that McCain doesn't understand the need for Congressional controls over spy agencies. "You need to have Congressional oversight and transparency," he says. "I would not recommend a new agency that is set up parallel to the CIA.... All of those things can be done within the boundaries of the CIA." Told about McLaughlin's comments, Scheunemann says, "Anyone who thinks that the agency today is a nimble, can-do organization has a different view than Senator McCain does."

The UN, too, would be shunted aside to make room for McCain's new League of Democracies. Though the concept is couched in soothing rhetoric, the "league" would provide an alternate way of legitimizing foreign interventions by the United States when the UN Security Council won't authorize force. Five years ago, on the eve of the Iraq War, McCain said bluntly before the European Parliament that if Security Council members resisted the use of force, or if China opposed US action against North Korea, "the United States will do whatever it must to guarantee the security of the American people." Among the targets McCain cites for his plan to short-circuit the UN are Darfur, Burma, Zimbabwe, Serbia, Ukraine and, of course, Iran—and he has already referred to "wackos" in Venezuela. According to Scheunemann, it's an idea that bubbled up from some of McCain's advisers, including Peters and Kagan, but it alarms analysts from the realist-Republican school of foreign policy. "They're talking about a body that essentially would circumvent the UN and would take authority to act in the name of the international community, sometimes using force," says a veteran GOP strategist who knows McCain well and who insisted on anonymity. "Well, it's very easy to predict that the Russians and Chinese would view this as a threat."

McCain seems almost gleeful about provoking Russia. At first blush, you'd think he'd be more nuanced, since many of the foreign policy gurus he says he talks to emanate from the old-school Nixon-Kissinger circle of détente-niks, including Henry Kissinger himself, Lawrence Eagleburger and Brent Scowcroft. Their collective attitude is that as long as Moscow doesn't threaten US interests, we can do business with it. But there is little evidence of their views in McCain's policy toward Putin's Russia. "I think it's fair to assume that he's most influenced by his neoconservative advisers," says the GOP strategist.

"We need a new Western approach to...revanchist Russia," wrote McCain in *Foreign Affairs*. He says he will expel Russia from the Group of Eight leading industrial states, a flagrant and dangerous insult, one likely to draw stiff opposition from other members of the G-8. He refuses to ease Russian concerns about the deployment of a missile defense system in Eastern Europe, saying, "The first thing I would do is make sure we have a missile defense system in place in Czechoslovakia [*sic*] and Poland, and I don't care what [Putin's] objections are to it." And he's all for rapid expansion of NATO, to include even the former Soviet republic of Georgia—and not just Georgia but also the rebellious Georgian provinces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Since Kosovo's declaration of independence on February 17, which was opposed by Russia, Moscow has said it intends to support independence of the two Georgian regions, making McCain's goal of expanding NATO provocative, to say the least. "McCain says [NATO] ought to include Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which are not under the control of the current Georgian government," says a conservative critic of the Arizona senator. "Which, if not a prescription for war with Russia, is at least a prescription for conflict with Russia."

Earlier in his Congressional career, McCain was reluctant to engage in overseas adventures unless American interests were directly threatened. He opposed US involvement in Lebanon in the early 1980s, and in Haiti and the Balkan conflicts in the early 1990s. But as the post–cold war environment seemed increasingly to promise unchallenged American hegemony, McCain took up the neocons' call for interventionism. His views crystallized in a 1999 speech, when he called for the United States to use tough sanctions and other pressure to roll back "rogue states" like Iraq and North Korea, adding, "We must be prepared to back up these measures with American military force if the existence of such rogue states threatens America's interests and values." In referring to "values," McCain indicates his support for the notion that a selective crusade allegedly on behalf of freedom and democracy can provide a rationale for an aggressive new foreign policy outlook.

'If you thought George Bush was bad when it comes to the use of military force, wait till you see John McCain.' —Ivo Daalder of Brookings

"He's the true neocon," says the Brookings Institution's Ivo Daalder, a liberal interventionist who conceived the idea of a League of Democracies with Robert Kagan. "He does believe, in a way that George W. Bush never really did, in the use of power, military power above all, to change the world in America's image. If you thought George Bush was bad when it comes to the use of military force, wait till you see John McCain.... He believes this. His advisers believe this. He's surrounded himself with people who believe it. And I'll take him at his word."

Not surprisingly, the center of McCain's foreign policy is the Middle East. "He's bought into the completely fallacious notion that we're in a global struggle of us-versus-them. He calls it the 'transcendental threat...of extreme Islam," says Daalder. "But it's a silly argument to think that this is either an ideological or a material struggle on a par with [the ones against] Nazi Germany or Soviet Communism." For McCain, the Iraq War, the conflict with Iran, the Arab-Israeli dispute, the war in Afghanistan, the Pakistani crisis and the lack of democracy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Statesman, Orator, Soldier, Leader

Now You Can Explore Winston Churchill in 12 Engaging Lectures in Your Choice of Audio or DVD Formats

Winston Churchill is arguably the greatest leader of the 20th century, and one of the greatest democratic statesmen ever.

His friend, colleague, and esteemed political foe Clement Attlee memorialized him as "the greatest Englishman of our time—I think the greatest citizen of the world of our time."

Churchill is eminently worthy of study because he is proof that a single individual can change the course of history for the better and make of life a blessed and noble thing, despite public and private trials too numerous to name.

A Champion of Freedom; A Life of Stunning Accomplishment

At an awful hour when freedom and right stood in mortal peril before tyranny and brutal terror, Churchill, with his great-souled courage, genius, and eloquence, rallied the British people to rise and proudly meet "their finest hour."

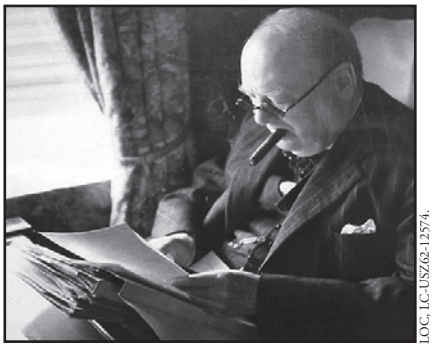
He stood alone against the Nazi onslaught, and from there he led his people to victory, which puts us all in his debt.

Who was this extraordinary man, and how did he accomplish this amazing feat, which was just a single part of a long and fruitful life that can only be called stunning in the degree of its accomplishment?

Dr. J. Rufus Fears introduces you to Churchill**,** a successful yet controversial politician who won his seat in Parliament at the age of 26; a statesman of vision and principle; and a brilliant orator who stirringly invoked timeless concepts of valor, honor, and freedom just when the civilized world needed them most.

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 pm eastern time ship that same day. Order before March 31, 2008, to receive these savings.



LOC, LC-USZ62-12574.

Winston Churchill

You will discover Churchill as resourceful soldier, devoted public servant, and military innovator and strategist. You will also meet Churchill as gifted painter, doting father, and best-selling author who won the Nobel Prize for literature.

Discover why Professor Fears ranks Churchill as one of history's great statesmen, along with Abraham Lincoln and Pericles.

About Your Professor

Dr. J. Rufus Fears (Ph.D., Harvard University) is David Ross Boyd Professor of Classics at the University of Oklahoma, where he holds the G.T. and Libby Blankenship Chair in the History of Liberty. A 21-time award winner for outstanding teaching, he has three times been named "Professor of the Year" by the University of Oklahoma. He has published four books and more than 100 articles.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. Heritage and Destiny
2. Young Churchill
3. On the Empire's Frontier
4. Political Beginnings
5. Churchill and Controversy
6. Post-War Challenges
7. In the Wilderness
8. The Nazi Menace
9. Rallying the Nation
10. The Tide of War Turns
11. Champion of Freedom
12. The Legacy of Churchill

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE UP TO $40!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL MARCH 31, 2008

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/9ntn

The Great Courses
THE TEACHING COMPANY
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 27530

Please send me **Churchill**, which consists of twelve 30-minute lectures and a Course Guidebook.

- ☐ **DVD $29.95** (std. price $69.95) **SAVE $40!** plus $5 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $19.95** (std. price $54.95) **SAVE $35!** plus $5 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $15.95** (std. price $39.95) **SAVE $24!** plus $5 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed** Special price for shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee—this offer only.

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

Account Number _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name (please print) _____

Mailing Address _____

City/State/ZIP _____

Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)* _____

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/9ntn
Offer Good Through: March 31, 2008

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

St. Ann's Warehouse, Josh Wood Productions and powerHouse Arena present

SPEAK OUT

FREE

FOR PEACE IN IRAQ AND JUSTICE AT HOME

Tue Mar 18
4–7:30PM

powerHouse Arena
37 Main St. | DUMBO, Bklyn

On the eve of the 5th anniversary of the War in Iraq, come and meet with organizations and individuals promoting peace, preserving civil liberties and providing New Yorkers with concrete options for action. On view: *Eyes Wide Open*, an exhibition on the consequences of the war, and film footage of *Winter Soldier* testimonials.

SPEAKERS: Naomi Klein, Laura Flanders, Sapphire and more

Organizations | *American Friends Service Committee, Arab American Family Support Center, Brooklyn for Peace, Code Pink, Human Rights Project of the Urban Justice Center, Iraq Veterans Against the War, The Nation Magazine, New York Civil Liberties Union, NYC Military Families Speak Out, NYC United for Peace and Justice, Veterans for Peace and War Resisters League*

Presented in conjunction with
SPEAK UP!
A BENEFIT CONCERT FOR PEACE IN IRAQ & JUSTICE AT HOME
St. Ann's Warehouse
38 Water St. DUMBO, Bklyn

ST. ANN'S WAREHOUSE 718.834.8794 X 17 STANNSWAREHOUSE.ORG
POWERHOUSE ARENA 866-99-ARENA POWERHOUSEARENA.COM

Nation Mart

WHY DON'T MORE PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT US

WWW.THENATIONMART.COM

ONE-STOP SHOPPING FOR EVERYTHING NATION

HELP TO GET THE WORD OUT. WEAR & GIVE THESE HANDSOME TEES - BLACK EXTRA SOFT COTTON W/LIGHT TEXT.

in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan are all rolled up into one "transcendent" ball of wax.

More than any other politician, McCain is identified with the Iraq War. From the mid-1990s on, he and his advisers were staunch supporters of "regime change." Scheunemann helped write the Iraq Liberation Act in 1998, which funded Ahmad Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress; joined Bill Kristol's Project for the New American Century; and helped create the neoconservative Committee for the Liberation of Iraq in 2002, with White House support. Together with Joe Lieberman, Sam Brownback and a handful of other senators, McCain emerged as a major cheerleader for the war. Like his fellow neocons, McCain touted what proved to be faked intelligence on the threat posed by Iraq. Echoing Vice President Cheney, McCain said on the eve of the war, "There's no doubt in my mind, once [Saddam] is gone, that we will be welcomed as liberators." He pooh-poohed critics who argued that Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's war plan was too reliant on technology and too light on troops, saying, "I don't think you're going to have to see the scale of numbers of troops that we saw…back in 1991." When Gen. Eric Shinseki warned, a month before the war started, that occupying Iraq would require far more troops, McCain was mute.

Today McCain portrays himself as a critic of how the war was fought, but his criticism did not emerge until long after it was clear that the United States faced a grueling insurgency. From the fall of 2003 onward, against a growing chorus of critics who called for US forces to withdraw, McCain repeatedly called for more troops to secure "victory." By late 2006, when the bipartisan Iraq Study Group called for pulling out all combat brigades within fifteen months, McCain, Lieberman and a hardy band of neocons, led by Frederick Kagan of the American Enterprise Institute and joined by Cheney, persuaded Bush to escalate the war instead. Asked if McCain directly lobbied Bush to reject the ISG's recommendations, a McCain aide says, "There were many encounters with the President's senior advisers and with the President on this issue." Fred Kagan, the surge's author and Robert Kagan's brother, told McClatchy Newspapers, "It was a very lonely time. He went out there for us."

In January McCain famously said US forces might end up staying in Iraq for a hundred years. It's clear that for McCain the occupation is not just about winning the war but about turning Iraq into a regional base for extending US influence throughout the region. According to the original neocon conception of the war, as promoted by people like Perle and Michael Ledeen, Iraq was only a first step in redrawing the Middle East map. Gen. Wesley Clark said recently that on the eve of the war he was shown a Pentagon document that portrayed Iraq as the first in a series of operations to change regimes in Iran, Syria, Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Lebanon.

When *The Nation* asked Scheunemann why US forces would have to stay in Iraq so long, he explicitly linked their presence to the entire Middle East. "Iraq might be stable, but what about the region?" he responded. "Other countries could be in turmoil; other countries could be threatening Iraq. It could be an external threat that we need to have troops there for, à la South Korea, à la Japan." He added, "I understand your readers may think it's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some sort of malevolent imperialist conspiracy." Conspiracy or not, it's clear that McCain sees our presence in Iraq as a permanent extension of US power in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

McCain has made no secret of his belief that using force against Iran is the only way to prevent it from acquiring nuclear weapons. "There is only one thing worse than a military solution, and that, my friends, is a nuclear-armed Iran," McCain said. "The regime must understand that they cannot win a showdown with the world." He supports tougher sanctions against Tehran, but critics note that implementing them would require Russia's consent. McCain's provocative anti-Russia stand, though, makes such a deal less than likely. And he rejects direct US-Iran talks.

In the end, McCain seems almost reflexively to favor the use of America's armed might. "He would employ military force to the exclusion of other options," says Larry Korb, a former Reagan Administration defense official. Scion of admirals (his father and grandfather), a combat pilot in Vietnam who continued to believe long after that war that it might have been won if the US military had been allowed free rein, McCain presents the image of a warrior itching for battle. He is the candidate of those Americans whose chief goal is an endless war against radical Islam and who'd like nothing more than for the Arizona senator to clamber figuratively into the cockpit once more. Like his former aide Marshall Wittman, currently a top aide to Senator Lieberman, McCain sees Theodore Roosevelt, the Bull Moose interventionist President of the early twentieth century, as his role model. And that attracts neoconservatives.

"I'm an old-fashioned, Scoop Jackson—I guess you'd now say Joe Lieberman—Democrat, and he's a Teddy Roosevelt Republican, and they're pretty close in their views, so substantively there's a lot of overlap between us," says James Woolsey, a former CIA director who's endorsed McCain and has campaigned with him this year. "I think John's style is very TR-like. It's very much about speaking softly but carrying a big stick."

We're still waiting for the "speaking softly" part. "There's going to be other wars," McCain warns. "I'm sorry to tell you, there's going to be other wars. We will never surrender, but there will be other wars." ■

How to Swim Against the Current

All across the country, people are wriggling free of the fetters of our corporate culture.

by JIM HIGHTOWER and SUSAN DeMARCO

Last year I got this e-mail from a woman named Linda: "I have a decent job and do it well, but I'm constantly thinking I'm wasting my time. I want to begin doing something useful to contribute to changing things, at least becoming a cog in the wheel that's on the right vehicle."

She's hardly alone in her yearning to escape the corporate tentacles and defy the stultifying insistence of conventional wisdom that "success" is money. The powers that be don't want us thinking that breaking from the given order is even possible. But as a friend of mine puts it, "Those who say it can't be done should not interrupt those who are doing it."

In such varied pursuits as business, politics, healthcare, food, banking, religion and others, folks all across the country are wriggling free of the traps and fetters of our corporate culture, successfully finding new paths toward richer lives, more satisfying work and, yes, even happiness.

Take business. CEOs and their political enablers are quick to cite old Cal Coolidge's line that "the chief business of the American people is business," as if that trumps all other interests. Yet in the very same speech, Coolidge noted that wealth is not all there is to life: "There are many other things we want very much more." Then he offered this uplifting thought that the corporate world never quotes: "The chief ideal of the American people is idealism."

In practically every American community, business people are putting their idealism to work. For example, the company owner who refused an opportunity to buy out a competitor and bring in more revenue because, he said, "I'd rather pack my kids' lunch and walk them to school"; or the women of the Lusty Lady Theater who rebelled against the notorious exploitation that strippers endure and created America's first-ever unionized, worker-owned, cooperative strip club; or the pharmacist who was pulling down six figures at a chain drugstore but walked away because, he said, the unaffordable pricing "made me sick to my stomach"—he now runs his own store, called MedSavers, with low overhead and low prices, catering to uninsured and underinsured families.

For idealistic entrepreneurship, consider a brand of foods that you might have in your kitchen: Organic Valley. This purveyor of organic milk, eggs, butter, juices, etc. was organized by a group of farmers to be the "un-corporation," embracing not only profit but also the common good of what they call their "partnership society," including employers, consumers and communities. It has not been easy, but the Organic Valley cooperative has held fast to its progressive principles over the years while building a business that now includes 1,201 farm families in thirty-two states, racking up $432 million in sales in fiscal year 2007.

A measure of their commitment to principle came the year before. Some of the co-op's products were being sold through Wal-Mart, which is now the nation's biggest marketer of organic milk. But Big Wally, as it is known to its suppliers, quickly began pitting its organic milk providers against one another, demanding lower prices from them and also insisting on getting more milk from each of them.

In the corporate world, this is a no-brainer. You rush to

This article is adapted from Jim Hightower and Susan DeMarco's new book, Swim Against the Current: Even a Dead Fish Can Go With the Flow, *published by Wiley in February.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

add more dairy farms, to squeeze more milk out of each cow, to merge with another company—anything to stay on the biggest shelf in the world. Yet Organic Valley's board and members said no. Hitching their plow to Wal-Mart would change who they were, shortchange their smaller customers and pervert their sustainable long-term vision.

They asked themselves, "Which retailers have been with us in the past and will stick with us down the road?" Not Wal-Mart. Almost no one had ever pulled out of Wally, and the buyer was totally stunned. But, said the co-op's top executive, "We're independent. We answer to ourselves, not to Wall Street, so we can do it. We can keep our soul."

Such uplifting stories abound throughout our land—including in the money-soaked, corporate-driven world of politics. In 2001, for example, a group of young people in Oregon were appalled that right-wing Republicans had taken over their legislature and were dismantling the state's proud progressive systems of education and conservation. None of these young folks had been "political" people before, but they decided to see if they could do something to change this bad direction.

They saw that the Republicans had majorities of only 32-28 in the House and 16-14 in the Senate, with many of the GOP members getting elected in suburban swing districts by only a few hundred votes. Thus was born the Oregon Bus Project—a sassy, fun (but serious) effort to put young volunteers behind progressive candidates in those districts. They outfitted a 1978 forty-seven-seat bus as a volunteer mobile and went to the countryside. The bus was more than transportation; it became their symbol and even gave them their slogan: "Get on the Bus" was their rallying cry.

To make a marvelous story short, these creative people have drawn hundreds of youngsters into an ongoing door-to-door campaign, and in only three election cycles, they have helped win nine of the ten Senate seats they targeted and nine of their ten targeted House seats—moving both chambers out of right-wing Republican control.

Every state should have a Bus Project! Also, every state should have a yearly festival like Fighting Bob Fest, held in Baraboo, Wisconsin. This is a daylong "county fair" of positive political energy for the whole family—with great motivational speeches, good music and food, local brews (to lubricate the movement), activist tabling, a live radio broadcast, book signings, issue workshops and the drafting of a people's legislative agenda, which is then carried by participants into the state legislature, where they've enjoyed some major successes.

Bob Fest (named for Fighting Bob La Follette) is an all-volunteer, self-funding effort that now draws more than 7,500 people. It engages, excites and empowers ordinary folks, helping them become an independent, effective grassroots force for the progressive cause. It succeeds because it makes politics meaningful and fun.

Mavericks like these are the great hope and true leaders of our country. Not that their path is easy—all of them hit some potholes along the way. But they show that cutting loose from the corporate system is its own exhilarating reward, allowing you not only to enrich your life but also to help edge our society back onto the long road toward grassroots democracy and the common good. ■

Letters

(continued from page 2)

man! I want someone who will get dirty, kick ass, take names and get shit done! And that, dear sirs, is Hillary Clinton.
Amy Hendrix

New York City
The Obambi supporters are beginning to scare me. Throw away the Kool-Aid! "Hope blah blah blah. Change blah blah blah." Meanwhile, Hillary is figuring out how to bring the translators home from Iraq along with the troops. It's mostly the misogyny and sexism, overt and covert, that makes me despair. Hillary Clinton is simply the most brilliant, prepared candidate since Adlai Stevenson. We don't need an untried youngster whose résumé wouldn't get a second look if he were female.
Deborah Savadge

Little Neck, N.Y.
I'm beginning to think I'm subscribing to the wrong magazine. Women had to wait fifty years longer than black men for the vote. I take women's struggle for equality very seriously. I'm 77 and I know all too well the social, financial and political discrimination against women because I experienced them myself. Voting for a better qualified woman for President is not sexist but the final blow for liberation. To do less is to break faith with our daughters and granddaughters.
Vivian Hershy

Astoria, N.Y.
Hil-Bama! Hil-Bama! Hil-Bama! The *unstoppable* ticket. The first priority for Democrats must be simply this: win. John McCain will be a formidable foe—smart, war hero, a mountain of experience. If Democrats want to win this time, there's only one strategy: combine the force of our two greatest candidates. The next Administration inherits a terrible mess. Hillary will rise to that challenge. I can think of no greater charge for our next Vice President than that he be blessed with miraculous skills of unity, an inspiring voice of hope and, yes, even the outward spirituality necessary to check the influence of right-wing Christians. Obama, the Bobby Kennedy of our time, can do just that. Hil-Bama!
Will Kane Thompson

Witness to the Spanish Civil War

Charlottesville, Va.
I read with deep emotion "Noted," about the Lincoln Battalion's Milton Wolff ["A Premature Antifascist," Feb. 18]. The night of November 6–7, 1936, when I was 4, I was at my grandparents' house one block from the Manzanares River and the Segovia Bridge, which the Fascist troops were trying to cross to get to the center of Madrid. I remember that night clearly. I could hear the bullets hitting close to our house, see the firing of the artillery and the planes fighting overhead. The November 7 *New York Times* ran this front-page headline: Government to Quit Madrid With City's Fall Imminent. Talk about being wrong! The people of Madrid defended their city (later with the help of the International Brigade) until March 1939. I am also a "premature antifascist," and I thank the Lincoln Battalion, whose members were granted honorary citizenship two years ago by the Spanish government, for their valiant defense of democracy.
Rafael Iñigo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books & the Arts.

KLUGER ZOLTAN/STATE OF ISRAEL, NATIONAL PHOTO COLLECTION

Jewish settlers visit an Arab village, 1940

Shadowplays

by NEVE GORDON

As dawn broke on March 22, 2004, an Israeli helicopter gunship hovered over the al-Mujama al-Islami mosque in Gaza City. Suddenly, the whoosh of missile rockets was heard, and then explosions. Shouts and screams filled the streets, followed by news bites from all over the world: Hamas's spiritual and political leader, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, had been killed as he was leaving the mosque to return to his nearby home. About three weeks later, on April 17, Gaza's newly chosen Hamas leader, Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, was also assassinated from the air. Rantisi had taken extra precautions to protect himself—surrounding himself with bodyguards, constantly switching hiding places and never traveling in his own car. Still, he could not escape the long arm of Israel's security services either.

Yassin and al-Rantisi are just two of the more prominent Palestinian political leaders and militants assassinated by Israel since the eruption of the second intifada in September 2000. To date, more than 400 people have been killed in similar operations. While the morality and legality of Israel's assassination policy are debated in the Israeli press, little has been said or written about the logistical dimensions of such extrajudicial executions. This is unfortunate, since seemingly mundane questions—such as how Israel manages to ascertain the exact whereabouts of people like Rantisi—can broaden our understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in unexpected and valuable ways.

Although the Israeli military does not reveal its intelligence sources, it's well-known that despite innovations in surveillance technology (a pilotless drone, for instance, aided the helicopter gunship that fired on Yassin), Palestinian collaborators are indispensable to Israel's covert operations in Gaza and the West Bank. Brig. Gen. Yair Golan, who until recently headed Israel's military forces in the West Bank, said as much at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem last year. Moreover, meticulous readers of assassination coverage in Israeli newspapers have long been able to detect the fingerprints of collaborators at the crime scene. Consider a few lines from an article about the murder of Aiman Halaweh, published on October 23, 2001, in the Israeli paper *Ma'ariv*: "Halaweh, 27 years old, was driving in the middle of Nablus in a new car he had received a few days earlier, when suddenly a forceful bomb detonated inside the vehicle. The car was totally ruined from the blast, while Halaweh was killed on the spot." The careful reader understands that the "new car" was the bomb and that Halaweh must have received the vehicle from a Palestinian collaborator working for Israel.

The recruitment and deployment of Palestinian collaborators is not a new phenomenon. It is a longstanding Zionist practice, almost as old as Zionism itself. Already in the early 1920s, the Zionist Executive's Arab department employed collaborators to establish the Muslim National Associations as a counterweight to the Muslim-Christian Associations, which at the time was the hub of the Palestinian national movement. Dur-

Army of Shadows
Palestinian Collaboration With Zionism, 1917–1948.
By Hillel Cohen.
Translated by Haim Watzman.
California. 344 pp. $29.95.

Aravim Tovim
By Hillel Cohen.
Ivrit. 307 pp. 84 shekels.

Neve Gordon teaches politics at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel. His book Israel's Occupation *will appear later this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the same era the Zionist movement adopted a similar scheme, establishing a loose network of Palestinian political parties, known as the farmers' parties, to challenge and undermine Palestinian urban nationalists. In fact, Zionist institutions employed collaborators throughout the British Mandate period to advance their goals. In 1932 a collaborator relayed information about sermons given by sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a Palestinian militant who was killed by British troops in 1935 and is remembered by Palestinians to this day, not least because the military wing of Hamas has appropriated his name.

In his groundbreaking book *Army of Shadows*, Hillel Cohen, a research fellow at Hebrew University's Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, exposes this particularly nefarious side of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Cohen has spent years in numerous Israeli and British archives gathering information that many would prefer to forget, and in *Army of Shadows* he summons his findings to document the actions of a seemingly endless number of Palestinian *mukhtars* (village leaders), land merchants, informers, weapons dealers, journalists, businessmen, farmers and teachers who collaborated with the Jews between 1917 and 1948. By focusing on them, *Army of Shadows* chronicles a tragic chapter in the people's history of Palestine, one that many Arab scholars have refrained from writing because it contradicts the dominant ethos of Palestinian national unity. Zionists have abstained from recording it as well because it undermines their claim that the Palestinians were able to unify and fight against the establishment of a Jewish state after the UN partition resolution of November 29, 1947. Cohen reveals that many Palestinians signed pacts with the Zionists during the 1948 war and that some even fought with the Jews against the Arab armies.

Collaboration is a very thorny issue, primarily because of its corrosive blend of betrayal, exploitation and deceit, so it's not surprising that *Army of Shadows* created a stir when the Hebrew edition was published in 2004. Both liberal Jews and Palestinians found the book difficult to digest because each group found its side portrayed in unflattering terms. Many Jewish readers were upset by Cohen's revelation that the prestate Zionist intelligence agency, Shai, and the Jewish Agency's Arab bureau exploited almost every honest Jewish and Palestinian relationship to advance narrow Zionist interests. There were, Cohen notes, many Jews who desired only friendship or good business relations with Palestinians but were eventually identified by the Shai, which used them to collect information and enlist Palestinian collaborators. The Jewish Agency even helped establish and finance Neighborly Relations Committees, which initiated mutual visits and Jewish-Palestinian projects, ranging from pest control to the sending of joint petitions to the Mandatory government. The rationale for the creation of these committees was not only to enhance coexistence but also to recruit informers.

Ezra Danin, head of the Shai's Arab department from 1940 to 1948, identified twenty-five occupations and institutions in which Jews and Palestinians mixed company, among them trucking, shipping, train and telecommunications systems, journalism, Jewish-Arab municipalities, prisons and the offices of the British Administration. He proposed that the Jews in these walks of life enlist Arab collaborators, adding that "such activity should be similar to the way the Nazis worked in Denmark, Norway, and Holland—touching on every area of life." Cohen explains that this approach was different from that of British intelligence, which allowed only political and military organizations and subversive bodies to be targeted as pools for potential informers. This revelation, besides shedding light on some of the ruthless tactics employed by the intelligence agencies, helps explain why, from Zionism's very beginnings, it was almost impossible for many Jews to develop loyal relationships with indigenous Palestinians.

Army of Shadows also disturbed Palestinian readers because it reveals for the first time the extent of Palestinian collaboration with the Jews during the Mandate period and the ensuing 1948 war. Some Palestinians were opportunists who collaborated with the Zionists to make money or advance their careers—these were primarily land brokers and people seeking administrative jobs. Others were *mukhtars* who wished to advance their regional or village interests or, in cases of internal competition, to solidify their leadership with the Zionists. Still others can be characterized as Palestinian patriots who simply disagreed with the dominant national leadership. Finally, there were those who had Jewish friends and did not view Zionist immigration as a catastrophe. The problem, though, as Cohen points out, is that regardless of the motivation, collaboration contributed to the fragmentation of Palestinian society at a time when its very fate was being determined.

Simultaneously, Cohen underscores the Palestinian leadership's failure to cultivate a unified national ethos. While disunity among a people is in no way unique, in this case, as Cohen shows, it was aggravated in two ways. First, a totally different and competing national movement was making claims on the same territory, and this movement knew how to profit from splits within Palestinian society in order to undermine national aspirations. Indeed, the Zionists exploited the fissures to recruit and deploy collaborators, and this ultimately served to deepen internal Palestinian discord and frustrate Palestinian nation building.

Second, and more disturbing for a Palestinian readership, Cohen stresses that instead of capitalizing on the fact that Palestinian Arabs shared a national consciousness and were divided mostly on pragmatic questions about how to achieve their goals, the dominant Palestinian group, led by Hajj Amin al-Husseini and loosely organized under the auspices of the Arab Party (established in 1935), defined all competing nationalist views and actions as treasonous. Collaborators, accordingly, were no longer just those who aided the Zionists' military efforts; they were local and regional leaders, merchants who traded with Jews, journalists who wrote in favor of the Zionist project and, most important, land dealers who helped Jewish institutions locate and purchase Palestinian land. Cohen tells us that

> On a clear day in mid-May 1936, an Arab boy set out on a trip from Jerusalem. With him in his car were two Jewish girls. The boy's name was Victor Lulas. To the nationalists he was a criminal two times over. He was driving a car, in violation of the leadership's strike orders, and he had maintained his social ties with Jews. When he reached the turn in the road by the village of Abu-Ghosh, a group of young men stopped him. They dragged him out of the car, beat him, and then sent him on his way.

People like Victor Lulas were the new traitors. Without changing their ways and habits, they found themselves outside the norms of Palestinian society. Patronizing a Jewish doctor, employing a Jewish worker or being employed by a Jew—all became illegitimate. Thus, Husseini's uncompromising maximalist positions, alongside his camp's unwillingness to tolerate the views of its opponents, paradoxically ended up expanding the definition of traitor and collaborator. Simply put, many of those who continued to live as they had in the past were branded as collaborators; collaboration not only became a common occurrence but a defining aspect of Palestinian society and politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mom didn't think she needed email… now she can't live without it.

The HP Printing Mailbox with Presto Service lets her receive email and full-color photos without a computer or Internet connection.

The Perfect Solution for Parents & Grandparents

If you're like me, you'd love to get Mom into the electronic family loop. My mom doesn't want to use a computer, so until now I haven't been able to send her email. Recently, a friend told me about a great solution she found. It's called the HP Printing Mailbox with Presto Service, and it lets her send email, photos, and PDF documents to her parents even though they don't have a computer.

Stay Connected to Family

My grown kids and I rely on email to stay in touch. Keeping in touch with my Mom is different. She doesn't have or want a computer, and while I always had good intentions of printing photos and sending

letters, I just didn't have the time. Sure, I call a lot, but she was missing out on all of the great family emails and photos that I get from my kids.

Simple Technology Makes Staying in Touch Easy

Then we got her the HP Printing Mailbox. It is a remarkable product that lets anyone receive email and attached photos, or PDF documents, without the hassle and expense of a computer or Internet connection. It's easy to set up and simple to use. All you need is an existing phone line and electrical outlet. Now our whole family can send Mom email and photos that are transformed into beautiful, full-color printouts. Messages are printed automatically, so all she has to do is pick them up off of the Printing Mailbox, read, and enjoy! It couldn't be simpler. Whether we send pictures, jokes, or just a note saying, "Hi, we love you," Mom says the HP Printing Mailbox has been a real joy.

Try Presto

See firsthand how Presto brings loved ones who don't use a computer into the electronic family loop. It's risk free. If you're not completely satisfied, simply return it within 60 days for a refund.

"Presto has provided a **simple and powerful way** for my family to share photos with each other with no one being left out."

— Brian V. from California

"**My mother LOVES it!** This is the best present I have ever given my mother. She says that getting her Presto mail is like someone coming to her house for a visit."

— Sherri M. from Chicago

Presto℠

For free information, visit:

www.presto31.com

or call (800)559-5249

60 days • money back NO RISK GUARANTEE satisfaction guaranteed

© 2008 Presto Services Inc. "Presto", "Presto Services Inc.", "You're Connected", "Printing Mailbox" and the Presto stylized logos, are service marks or registered service marks of Presto Services Inc. in the United States and other countries. U.S. and International Patents Pending. "HP" is a registered trademark of Hewlett-Packard Development Company, L.P.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Army of Shadows joins a growing shelf of books about Mandatory Palestine written by the so-called Israeli New Historians, among them Benny Morris and Tom Segev. (Segev has furnished Cohen's book with a nice blurb.) Like Morris and Segev, Cohen is a positivist: a scrupulous archivist who spends hours poring over files and old newspapers in order to make sense of the past and to bring it, as it were, to light. (Cohen's fluency in Arabic gives him an important advantage over Morris and Segev.) As die-hard positivists, though, these New Historians are uninterested in theory; they refrain from examining the implications of their revelations and claims on our understanding of important concepts such as nationalism, hegemony and collaboration. There is little, if any, abstraction in their writings.

Devotion to the archives hasn't hampered Segev's storytelling talents. In *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate* (2000), he beautifully and masterfully interweaves remarkable anecdotes to create a gripping and irresistible tale. Yet after reading it, I find myself agreeing with Segev's thesis—that the British were more pro-Zionist than many Israelis have traditionally believed—but unsure about the proof. Segev's great narrative skills are also his Achilles' heel: the fabric of his story is too tightly woven. Where are the messy contradictions and ambiguities that characterize history? This is not the question one is left with after reading Cohen, another great storyteller, whose narratives accommodate the inconsistencies and variations that history is made of. Cohen distinguishes himself even more from Morris, who in *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (1999) chronicles the history of national institutions while eliding the people's history of Palestine. The significance of unearthing the people's history is that it often brings to light a story less amenable to hegemonic perceptions and existing paradigms, if only because the people talk in many voices: they contradict the dominant ethos, they resist authority, they tell the truth, they lie.

If, for instance, Morris presents the 1948 war as a conflict between Jews and Arabs, Cohen documents numerous cases of Palestinians refusing to attack Jews. This unwillingness to do battle pervaded the country. In December 1947, Cohen writes, "the inhabitants of Tulkarm refused to attack Jewish towns to their west, to the chagrin of the local Holy Jihad commander, Hasan Salameh. Sources in Ramallah reported at the same time that many were refusing to enlist, and reports from Beit Jibrin indicated that 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Azzi," the head of a very influential family, "was doing all he could to keep his region quiet. The villagers of the Bani-Hassan *nahiya* southwest of Jerusalem decided not to carry out military actions within their territory, and the people of al-Maliha refused a request from 'Abd al-Qader al-Husseini to attack the Jewish neighborhoods of Mekor Hayyim and Bayyit va-Gan." In these places as well as in many others mentioned in the book, Palestinians did not feel that war with the Jews would advance their interests. In some cases local Palestinian leaders were collaborators; in others, fear of the Jewish forces was the source of reluctance; and in still others it was friendship that had survived many years of national strife. "Palestinian Arab interest in fighting the Jews seems not to have been very high," Cohen concludes.

Declassified files provided Cohen with a glimpse of the guarded secrets of many collaborators.

In the late 1990s, in the midst of writing *Army of Shadows*, Cohen stumbled on an array of documents in the Israeli State Archives that had been declassified by mistake. Whereas most of these files dealt with thieves, brothels and numerous petty crimes, some relayed sensitive information about the employment of Palestinian informers during the 1950s and '60s. Before the archivists' error was discovered and the material reclassified and sealed, Cohen managed to read and take extensive notes on thousands of files, which provided him with a unique glimpse into the clandestine techniques used to recruit and deploy Palestinian citizens as undercover agents within their own communities. Cohen revealed the guarded secrets of scores of Palestinian collaborators in the sequel to *Army of Shadows*, *Aravim Tovim* (Good Arabs), which was published in 2006 and stayed on *Ha'aretz*'s bestseller list for thirteen weeks. Pickups filled to the brim delivered the paperback edition to Palestinian villages throughout Israel, where people waited impatiently to peruse the book. Many of them turned first to the index to see whether family members or acquaintances were implicated, making *Aravim Tovim* probably the only book written in Hebrew that is read backward—that is, from left to right.

Like *Army of Shadows*, *Aravim Tovim*, which covers the years 1948 to 1967, questions pervasive truths. In 1948, during what Israel calls the War of Independence and the Palestinians refer to as the Nakba, or "catastrophe," the vast majority of Palestinian leaders and intelligentsia either fled or were expelled from urban centers. The relatively small percentage of Palestinians who stayed put were unorganized rural dwellers who found themselves in a new state that did not want them. They were ultimately granted citizenship but were nonetheless considered a fifth column and forced to live under the Emergency Regulations, which restricted the movement of Palestinian citizens within the Jewish state until 1966. For years, it has been a widely held assumption that the first generation of Palestinian citizens of Israel was timid, afraid to challenge the Israeli government and demand basic rights. Such is the story told in *Coffins on Our Shoulders: The Experience of the Palestinian Citizens of Israel* (2005), in which Dan Rabinowitz and Khawla Abu-Baker distinguish the 1948 generation of Palestinians from their grandchildren, "the stand-tall generation," which Rabinowitz and Abu-Baker describe as being assertive, confident, determined and possessed with a sense of entitlement.

But is this really the case? The same mistakenly declassified archival files that Cohen used in *Army of Shadows* to open a window on Palestinian collaboration also reveal the existence of ongoing Palestinian resistance to Israeli rule. I vividly recall my friend Fareed Ghanem, a Palestinian Druse from Mghar, calling to tell me that he had just finished reading *Aravim Tovim* and that his father, Qassem, who was a schoolteacher in the early 1960s, figures in the book. Qassem Ghanem appears in a chapter about the governmental Committees for Arab Affairs, the major objective of which was to monitor and control the Palestinian minority within Israel. Cohen quotes an Israeli memo about Qassem Ghanem's hometown. Mghar, the memo states, had been "known in the past as outstanding in its loyalty to Israel, [but] recently nationalistic activities and incitement against the government have been exposed. At the center of these activities," the memo continues, "are a group of teachers who in broad daylight oppose the government.... The village notables and collaborators stand helpless in light of these activities and are certain that if the culpable teachers were harmed a bit it would do a great deal towards pacifying the spirits in the village and restoring the calm." Cohen

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

goes on to suggest that the Regional Committee for Arab Affairs invoked the Emergency Laws in order to fire Qassem, together with two other teachers, from the education system.

This relatively minor incident, which takes up no more than seven lines in Cohen's book, conveys a sense of the vast covert world of informers and operators, backed by government offices, responsible for fragmenting the Palestinian minority and cultivating Palestinian Arab support for the Jewish state. While many Israelis—Jews and Palestinians alike—already had a sense that these shadowplays were part of the state's history, *Aravim Tovim* supplies the evidence. Case after case is summoned to illustrate how collaboration permeated all aspects of Palestinian society. The schools were a major arena for spying. Students squealed on teachers, teachers informed on colleagues and principals reported on their students. Other arenas where collaborators operated included mosques, where an imam might criticize the government; cafes, where friends might discuss recent political events; and even weddings, where Palestinian nationalist songs were at times sung. Big Brother's eyes and ears were always on the alert.

Cohen's riveting chapter about the Jewish-Arab Communist Party illustrates especially well how the mechanisms of control were put to use. During the first two decades of Israel's existence, the Communists were practically the only ones to fight for egalitarian treatment of the Palestinian minority. They also led the campaign against the expropriation of Palestinian land and fought for the right of refugees to return to their villages. Cohen shows how every dirty trick in the game was used to sabotage their efforts. Collaborators were tapped not only to listen and report but also to burn down Communist clubs and offices, to violently attack Communist leaders and to sway votes in municipal councils. *Aravim Tovim* proves for the first time that allegations voiced by the Communists fifty years ago about the dirty tricks of the government and its agents were true.

The intelligence agencies recognized that it would be easier to control individuals than to manage a politically conscious and organized public. Therefore, they instructed their subordinates to prevent the establishment of municipal councils, sports associations, neighborhood clubs and the like, while simultaneously using an array of methods to create friction and strife among different Palestinian families, neighborhoods and villages. The objective was to create endemic distrust among the indigenous inhabitants, to monitor public opinion and to identify Palestinians who could potentially act against the state. By frightening and silencing the population, the different government agencies hoped to fabricate the Israeli-Arab, a "new Arab" whose first and only loyalty was to the Jewish state.

By chronicling the deep penetration of Israeli collaborators into all pockets of Palestinian life, *Aravim Tovim* ends up—perhaps necessarily—producing a people's history of Palestinian resistance within Israel, since collaboration is, after all, firmly linked to the existence of resistance. First-generation Palestinians did not keep their heads low, and through their resistance they achieved a number of things. One was their ability to hide and defend thousands of Palestinian refugees who, after the 1948 war, infiltrated back into Israel. Despite clear government injunctions to surrender such "infiltrators" and the ongoing work of hundreds if not thousands of collaborators, about 20,000 refugees, who at the time made up approximately 15 percent of the Palestinian population in Israel, managed to settle down and ultimately received citizenship.

The second achievement involved the

THE Nation. Cruise

READ ABOUT LAST YEAR'S NATION CRUISE TO ALASKA IN THE TRAVEL SECTION OF THE NEW YORK TIMES AT WWW.NATIONCRUISE.COM

The Nation invites you to join us for our 11th Annual Seminar Cruise to the Caribbean

December 14-21, 2008

Guest Speakers:
- Victor Navasky
- Katrina vanden Heuvel
- Jeremy Scahill
- Laura Flanders
- David Cole
- Joe Conason
- Nicole Lee
- Majora Carter
- Calvin Trillin
- John Nichols
- Eric Alterman

For more information or to book your cruise:
www.nationcruise.com
(888) 833-4339
groups@the-cruise-authority.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

establishment of numerous Palestinian municipal councils, despite the Committees for Arab Affairs' stated policy of crushing all efforts to establish such councils. The third has to do with Palestinian collective memory. The Israeli Ministry of Education, together with the Israeli security services, tried to undermine Palestinian nationalism by attempting to prevent the development and dissemination of a national historical narrative. School curriculums were limited to a Zionist interpretation of events, while any form of Palestinian nationalistic expression was vigorously suppressed. Yet despite all the state's efforts, Cohen shows how ongoing grassroots defiance guaranteed that the national history of the people was not erased.

Considering the prominent place of resistance in *Aravim Tovim*, it's not surprising that those first-generation Palestinians who participated in such activities in the 1950s and '60s are not only proud to read the book but are also insisting that the "stand-tall generation" read it too. This is one reason the book made it to the best-seller list. Another reason has to do with the fact that many Palestinians read the book as a manual for understanding the current situation in Gaza and the West Bank. In this sense too, *Aravim Tovim* cannot be separated from *Army of Shadows*. Both books describe the methods and tactics used by Israel's security agencies to penetrate, fragment and control Palestinian society through the production of profound distrust. In turn, they provide the necessary background for understanding how Israel effectively exploits existing conditions in order to recruit collaborators.

Today a request to exit the Gaza Strip to receive medical treatment, visit a dying relative or study in the West Bank or abroad is often contingent upon one's willingness to collaborate. In early January a number of patients were referred from Gaza—where they could not receive medical treatment—to Maqassed Hospital in East Jerusalem, and received permits to leave the region. At the border, though, they were interrogated by Israeli security service officers, who demanded that they become collaborators. According to Hadas Ziv of Physicians for Human Rights, Israel, those patients who refused had their travel permits annulled and were sent back home. While these patients managed to resist the temptation to collaborate, despite their medical ills, others do not. The persistence of collaboration is a result of not only the historical processes Cohen eloquently describes but also the harsh conditions under which Palestinians currently live. ■

KUNSTHAUS, ZÜRICH

La Truite, 1872

Daring Intransigence

by BARRY SCHWABSKY

It's the early 1840s, and a young painter, having arrived in Paris from Ornans, a town in eastern France, just a few years before, takes his first tentative steps as an artist in a manner unconventional for the day. Yes, he has tried his hand at producing the usual copies of masterpieces in the Louvre, as well as paintings of other subjects, but his real fascination is with self-portraiture—as if he could feel his way toward finding a style for himself only by experimenting with ways to see himself, something the paintings show he's far from settled on.

This painter is not yet Gustave Courbet, for he's still in the process of inventing himself, and very much confused about it. It's as if becoming an artist were something like preparing for a costume party. At times, when the painter lets himself indulge in a flyblown Romanticism, the results are downright ridiculous, as with *Le Sculpteur* (whose swooning, distended anatomy seems half stretched out on an espalier) and *Le Guitarrero*, both from 1845. Oddly, such early Romantic self-portraits seem to be the preferred cover illustrations for books about the realist master—including the catalog for the first full-scale Courbet retrospective in thirty years, which I saw at the Grand Palais in Paris (October 13–January 28) and which is now at the Met (February 27–May 18); from there it's on to the Musée Fabre, Montpellier (June 14–September 28). The exhibition has been curated by Laurence des Cars and Dominique de Font-Réaulx of the Musée d'Orsay, the Met's Gary Tinterow and Michel Hilaire of the Musée Fabre. If Courbet were no more than the ham actor in the corny ghost story we see in *Portrait de l'artist, dit Le Désespéré* (Self-Portrait, known as The Desperate Man; 1844–45), then he would never have become the subject of a great exhibition such as this one.

When the young artist could bring himself to forget about all the playacting, things were better, occasionally even very good indeed, as with *L'Homme à la ceinture de cuir* (The Man With the Leather Belt), in which pictorial style plays a surprisingly subtle game with historical reference. Some commentators have seen it as modeled on Velázquez, others on Rembrandt, others on Titian; this last reference must have been the one Courbet had foremost in mind, for in 1855 he exhibited the work under the title *Portrait de l'auteur, étude des Vénitiens*. None of these citations seem quite wrong, or for that matter entirely right; it's a picture so fused with tradition that its varied elements can hardly be disentangled. Still—though the painting is so good one hardly wants to complain—it's somehow not an expression of its own time, nor can we believe it tells us anything of the man it depicts except his profound investment in the history of his art and its many techniques.

Barry Schwabsky, an American art critic and poet living in London, is co-editor of the international review section of Artforum. *His new collection of poems will be published this year by Black Square Editions.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Skeleton in Your Closet Could Be an Heirloom

Rediscover the craftsmanship of the past with a timepiece that will bring home some of your fondest memories...for less than $80.

There was something special about sitting with my grandfather and listening to his stories of the "good ol' days": his scratchy wool cardigan, his sweet-smelling pipe and his fancy gold pocket watch. Now Stauer helps bring back those days of nostalgia with our antiqued ***Skeleton Pocket Watch***.

Opening the door to the Stauer Skeleton Pocket Watch displays the intricate interworking of a renewed classic 19th century masterpiece.

Quality From the Past. Many mass-produced watches are designed to be disposable, something you replace every couple of years. But Stauer's classic vintage movement reminds us of the glory days of America's railroad pocket watches built in the late 1800s. I found that Stauer has developed a long-lasting philosophy when it comes to timepiece quality. The brass case of the ***Skeleton Pocket Watch*** is 14k gold-fused and intricately etched. The hands can be seen with the lid open or closed. So give it a little wind and watch the mechanical movement roar to life. With its 14" chain and fob, it stays put in your pants or jacket pocket.

The open exhibition back allows you to further explore the complicated movement and fine craftsmanship.

The hands and complex mechanical movement can be seen with the lid open or closed

True quality always has a link with the past. As recently as 2007, the top sale at Sotheby's of a vintage 19th century pocket watch was estimated at nearly a quarter of million dollars! Stauer offers you a little piece of history for much less.

Pocket the Excellence. With all of today's advanced features, there is one thing missing in many mass-manufactured watches...it's craftsmanship! One only needs to look at the beauty of the ***Skeleton Pocket Watch*** see-through fancy dial, or the precise way the escapement, balance wheel, and main spring works together, to realize that this watch is designed to last for generations.

I hope one day, like my grandfather's before it, that this pocket watch will become an heirloom my own grandchildren will cherish. The exclusive beauty and craftsmanship of the limited edition ***Skeleton Pocket Watch*** will make this timepiece perfect for your personal collection as well.

Reliable Timekeeping Tradition. Try the ***Skeleton Pocket Watch*** for 30 days and if you are not as eager as I am to pass this tradition in timekeeping along to your grandchildren, simply return the watch for a full refund of your total purchase price. If you have an appreciation for classic design with precision accuracy, the ***Skeleton Pocket Watch*** is built for you. This watch is a limited edition, so please act quickly. Our last 4 limited edition watches are totally sold out!

WATCH SPECS: - 17-jewel classic manual movement - See-through face - 22mm thick gold-fused case - Etched case design - Gold-fused chain w/ fob

Not Available in Stores

Stauer Skeleton Pocket Watch $75.^{95}+S&H

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-888-201-7126

Promotional Code SPW122-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
Heritage of Art & Science

14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. SPW122-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1848 something changes and Courbet becomes Courbet—a fateful year, and not just for art. Later he would claim that he'd participated in the uprising against the government of King Louis Phillippe (which led to the establishment of the Second Republic), though at the time he was writing letters to his parents assiduously assuring them of the opposite. Commenting on one of these letters, T.J. Clark—whose 1973 book on Courbet, *Image of the People*, remains a cornerstone of the social history of art—spoke of a "paralysis of will," but I wonder how candid Clark's own letters home were when he was mixing it up with the Situationists in the '60s. There are things one's parents should be spared of knowing. Be that as it may, in politics as in painting, Courbet needed time to settle on a role to play. But there's something different about a remarkable self-portrait Courbet painted that year called *L'Homme à la pipe*. Even the relatively understated historicism of *L'Homme à la ceinture de cuir* has here been reined in, and the costume drama of the earlier self-portraits is barely a memory—though this is still the work of a man who has immersed himself in the Venetian, Spanish and Dutch masters, taking from them above all their grasp of the essential, their compact force. The artist is depicted as though from below, and his head tilted back a bit so that his deep-set eyes are shrouded in shadow, black holes under heavy lids. These unseen eyes communicate something nevertheless: a sort of disdain. But that's all; otherwise there is something profoundly uncommunicative about this self-portrait.

Les Baigneuses and other works of Courbet's early maturity still have an evergreen strangeness.

This refusal to communicate will be the most radical element of Courbet's art, however fitfully it appears. Its first emergence in *L'Homme à la pipe* is important because this same taciturn sensibility will preside over the great painting Courbet would commence working on the following year, *Un Enterrement à Ornans* (which unfortunately did not make the trip from the Grand Palais to the Met). Today, it is hard to understand the scandal this painting caused when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1850–51, why it was seen as a shocking political manifesto—this vast, somber frieze of serious, rather ordinary mourners and churchmen packed together in an austere landscape, with the crucifix raised above them and the still-empty grave at their feet while the casket itself is nearly lost in the crowd. What could be more solemn, more reverent, more human? What could be less provocative than a picture of people just standing around waiting, and what could be further from the muckraking melodrama of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*, which had been shown in the Salon of 1819, or from the clear confrontation of aggressors and victims in Goya's *Third of May, 1808* (1814)—paintings in which it should be clear that something dramatic enough to have political implications is going on?

Un Enterrement is political in a different way from those earlier paintings—it is political in a new way, one that makes it modern, as the works of Géricault or even of Goya are not. Its politics are first of all the politics of style, of both its own blunt pictorial style and the unpolished style of the people it depicts. "Here is democracy in art," declared Courbet's supporters, but for the influential critic and poet Théophile Gautier, who had seen much promise in Courbet's earlier efforts, "The resulting impression is difficult to sort out: You don't know whether to cry or laugh. Did the artist mean to make a caricature or a serious painting?" It wasn't just that Courbet was painting an ordinary event and ordinary people on the grand scale that had once been reserved for saints, kings and heroes; it was that his refusal to idealize them even the least bit made them seem ridiculously ugly to contemporary Parisian eyes. What rankled, perhaps, was that Courbet made it impossible to tell whether he agreed with the taste that found the provincial bourgeoisie ugly—a deadpan presentation not unlike that which, a century later, would leave people wondering whether by painting the American flag Jasper Johns was being patriotic or cynical. When Max Kozloff asks in 1962, "Are we supposed to regard our popular signboard culture with greater fondness or insight now that we have [James] Rosenquist? Or is he exhorting us to revile it?" he sounds like Gautier wondering if he should cry or laugh over these awful-looking people, and echoes Gautier's bewilderment at why, standing before such a canvas, "the spectator floats in uncertainty."

The puzzlement occasioned by *Un Enterrement*, like that aroused by Pop Art in the 1960s, has long since worn off, leaving universal admiration in its wake; but other paintings of Courbet's early maturity maintain an evergreen strangeness. Prime among these is surely *Les Baigneuses* (The Bathers; 1853), with its clashing elements of blunt realism and ostentatious stylization. Painted with incredible force and energy, its central nude, seen from behind, is enormous, the folds of her abundant flesh depicted with ardent attention. To some viewers of the day it must have been simply as if Courbet was shoving a massive ass in the public's face; a cartoon by the famous caricaturist and photographer Nadar, published in *Le Journal pour rire*, shows a bemused viewer asking, "But now that M. Courbet has let us see his moon, what the devil will he be able to show us next year?" Far more enigmatic are the emphatic and highly theatrical gesticulations of the nude and her clothed companion—gestures to all appearances completely alien to the realism that otherwise presides over the painting. And there is something about the placement of the two figures in the landscape, as well, that's disquieting, a sense that they are not quite anchored in the space, that for all their immense physical presence they could easily float away. Few of those who had defended *Un Enterrement* were willing to follow Courbet here. Even Delacroix, the idol of the most advanced younger painters, recording in his diary his amazement at the painting's "vigor and depth," was nonetheless dumbfounded: "What is abominable is the vulgarity and pointlessness of the idea; and anyway, if only if that idea, such as it is, were clear!" One hundred fifty years later, this nagging sense of incomprehensibility has not left the painting—and it's what makes *Les Baigneuses* one of the most transfixing and memorable of Courbet's works.

But still today, some might see in a painting such as this the beginning of Courbet's decline—for many art historians believe (though no painter to whom I've ever spoken about it does) that a decline set in at some point. "In the 1860s tradition went dead in his hand," Clark mourned, not without satisfaction. For some, like Swiss scholar Oskar Bätschmann, the turning point might have come in 1857, when Courbet started showing hunting scenes at the Salon, following the notable success in this genre of the English painter Landseer. By offending public morals with a sensational but nearly uncollectible piece like *Les Demoiselles des bords de la Seine (été)* (The Young Ladies of the Banks of the Seine [Summer]; 1856–57)—showing a couple of hookers cooling off in the shade of a tree—but pleasing the crowd with inoffensive pictures of stags and hounds, he could have both notoriety and sales, but at the price that such Faustian bargains are always said to entail. Yet look beyond the "manifestos," the clamorous masterpieces of the first half of the 1850s, and not only the ones I've mentioned but others just as re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Increase your "Flex ability*"

Flexibility: PR Newswire's MediaRoom lets you build and manage interactive media pages so the world doesn't have to bend over backwards to find your message.

Trust
Support
Like
Read
Distinguish
Target
Control
Account
Access
Connect
Remark
Relate
Suit
Click
Share
Unite
Inform
Craft
Spark
View
Profit
Engage
Function
Notice
Manage
Retain
Interact
Bank
Action
Scale
Form
Measure
Adjust
Predict
Network
Deliver
Correct
Service
Maneuver
Achieve
Accept
Scale
Quote
Link

It's not so odd, really. By stretching beyond the expected channels, you can increase your organization's media exposure. The immediacy of PR Newswire's MediaRoom gives the world the opportunity to view your information quickly, from every angle, in multiple formats – that's a lot of flexibility for such an easy-to-use tool.

See how easy it is – use any MediaRoom product before April 30th, 2008 and SAVE 10%!

* We know it's not spelled correctly (good catch!). We catch an average of over 200 errors every day – just one of many membership benefits!
Go to www.prnability.com/5928, or call (888) 850-5928 to see for yourself.

PR Newswire
United Business Media

MultiVu™

Copyright © 2008 PR Newswire Association LLC. All Rights Reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHINA CONFERENCE
STUDY TOUR ON ECONOMIC POLITICAL & CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

May 22–June 5, 2008

Sponsored by the
US journal Nature, Society, and Thought
&
Tsinghua University (Beijing)
see: umn.edu/home/marqu002/china2008
call: (612) 922-7993

BRING THEM HOME
ALIVE!!
SUPPORT OUR TROOPS
$9.00 each. Bulk, Special orders (954) 983-9656.
Send check / money order to:
Bring Them Home Now!
8210 Florida Drive #533
Pembroke Pines, FL 33025

NATIONAL PRIORITIES PROJECT

NATIONAL PRIORITIES PROJECT
Bringing the Federal Budget Home

(NPP) seeks Executive Director. NPP analyzes the federal budget, showing the local impact of spending priorities so people can influence how their tax dollars are spent. ED provides direction working with progressive national organizations, builds financial capacity, oversees staff, serves as liaison to the Board. Essential: experience directing national/regional non-profit organization, advanced management skills, development experience, knowledge of the federal budget and related policies, excellent communication skills. Northampton MA based.

www.nationalpriorities.org
for application information.

USE YOUR NATION VISA CARD
EVERY PURCHASE HELPS SUPPORT THE NATION.
The Nation.
Politically Charged Since 1865
PLATINUM
VISA
TO APPLY CALL 1-800-347-7887

markable and familiar—*Les Demoiselles de village* (The Young Girls of the Village; 1852), say, or *La Rencontre, ou Bonjour Monsieur Courbet* (The Meeting, or Good Day, M. Courbet; 1854). Beyond these you'll find room after room of landscapes, nudes and, yes, animal and hunting pictures; and the notion that Courbet lost his soul by painting them is laughable. Take away everything Courbet painted through 1855 and you'd still be faced with one of the greatest artists of the nineteenth century—though, as he was earlier, an artist whose extreme unevenness was the price of his daring.

And he was still one of the most difficult artists too. Hard as it may be to see now, during the Second Empire under Napoleon III, when public commissions and state purchases were the measure of artistic success, cultivating a private market was part of Courbet's political intransigence, a way of maintaining his independence of a government he despised. But in the paintings Courbet produced for the market, the difficulty is much more internalized than in the contentious showpieces he made for the salons. Some of these were undoubtedly mere "potboilers," as Bätschmann calls them. But if anything, among Courbet's later pictures, it is the ones deliberately made to court controversy that were the potboilers, like the anticlerical satire *Le Retour de la conférence* (The Return From the Conference; 1863)—a painting that no longer survives but appears to have been an aggrandized cartoon of the sort that perhaps Goya could have turned into something haunting and poignant, lending the idiocy of the priesthood a sort of metaphysical intensity. Courbet's subtlety was not of this sort.

Animalier painting may have been good business, but Courbet was born to paint animals, and not just because he was an avid huntsman or even because it enabled him to avoid some of the anatomical eccentricities that always threatened to undermine his more ambitious figure paintings (and that were sometimes the making of them)—at least when the figures had to do much more than stand around. Dominique de Font-Réaulx is not wrong in saying that Courbet's hunting scenes "form the strangest as well as the most original part of his output." There is a brute energy to Courbet's engagement with the act of painting, a sense of conflict and a relish in it that finds its truest expression in his paintings of the hunt, which allowed him to depict a full range of emotion, both human and animal, from fear, excitement, exhaustion and agony to the pensiveness of a breather after the chase. This last is the subject of a curiously melancholy picture, *La Curée, chasse au chevreuil dans les forêts du Grand Jura* (The Quarry, a Deer Hunt in the Forests of the Grand Jura; 1856), which has something of the enigmatic quality of, dare I say, Giorgione's *Tempest*; it has been remarked of Courbet's painting that it contains a "suggestion of allegory" but one that cannot be read, and this is part of what it shares with the Venetian masterpiece. The artist stands at the center of his composition, leaning back against a tree, lost in thought, with an elusive, perhaps sardonic smile playing across his face. But he is also lost in the shadow of the tree, and it's almost as if the boy who blows idly on a horn, the two hounds that seem ready for a face-off, and the hanging carcass of a buck whose face is the thing that comes closest to addressing the viewer in this painting—yet without any trace of anthropomorphizing—were nothing but so many apparitions in a dream he's having.

In 1871 Courbet's involvement in politics reached its zenith with his participation in the Paris Commune—a series of events that barely register in his art, for the simple reason that he had more urgent things to do than paint during those dramatic months. But the fall of the commune led to a brief imprisonment (retrospectively depicted in *Portrait de l'artiste à Sainte-Pélagie* [1872–73], in which his wistful gaze out the barred window oddly echoes his expression in *La Curée*, fifteen years earlier) and in 1873 to an unhappy, mostly unproductive exile in Switzerland that lasted until his death in 1877. Shortly before leaving France, in 1872, Courbet made two versions of an almost agonized painting of a trout caught on a hook, paintings that are the ne plus ultra of the identification with the expiring animal that one glimpses in *La Curée*. This identification is just another instance of what seems to have been a special fascination with some instinctive or autonomic animal essence of existence that emerges in its purest form where consciousness slips away, as in sleep or dying, and that can be seen from his recurrent paintings of people asleep or unconscious—mostly women but also himself, as in the early self-portrait, later revised, known as *L'Homme blessé* (The Wounded Man; 1844–54). For Courbet, it seems, this moment of expiration is not only that of ultimate weakness or loss; there also remains an intense life there, but coiled up in itself. Even the distractedness registered by so many of the faces in *Un Enterrement* reflects something like this waning of consciousness that so fascinated him.

Courbet's landscapes, too, more surprisingly, can contain traces of this inwardly turned life—but again, and this is what makes the fact so strange, without any sign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of anthropomorphization or idealization. It is impossible to generalize about this part of Courbet's production, for while he limited himself for the most part to scenes of his native region, the Franche-Comté, he painted a greater variety of landscape motifs, and painted them in a greater variety of ways, than any of his immediate precursors or successors. In a more fruitfully indirect way than in his early self-portraits, these landscapes amount to an insistence on the issue of the artist's identity, for they reassert the image of the artist that paintings like *Un Enterrement* had helped him establish, that of the stubborn provincial who'd conquered Paris without being corrupted by it, a man alert to every topographical and social detail of his home territory. The idea of landscape painting clearly meant much to Courbet, for in great summation of his early maturity, *L'Atelier du peintre, allégorie réelle determinant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique* (The Painter's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up a Seven-Year Phase of My Artistic Life; 1855)—unfortunately still at home in the Musée d'Orsay rather than at the Met—is precisely a landscape he shows himself painting. Yet there is a certain type of landscape painting that seems most particularly Courbet's own: it is immersive—there is no visible horizon, so that the viewer feels contained within the terrain (indeed, almost pressed into it) rather than able to observe it at a distance—and synecdochical. Above all, it is a landscape in which the most powerful energy comes from something unseen, shrouded in darkness—not unlike the hidden life of the body that's sometimes manifested in his figure paintings. Works like the various versions of *La Source de la Loue* (The Source of the Loue), painted in 1864, or *Le Puits-Noir*, around 1860–65, have a peculiar way of feeling at once absolutely present and completely withdrawn, immediately at hand and yet fugitive and ungraspable. They are densely material, tactile, up-front and in your face—but they are also built around massively absorptive black holes that seem to contain infinite distance.

Source, origin: the very title of these paintings about the place where water passes from its latency within the earth to visibility recalls that of what is now Courbet's most notorious painting—though then nearly unknown. *L'Origine du monde* (The Origin of the World; 1866) is another immersive and synecdochical painting. It is a female nude but one in which, as Flaubert's friend the writer and photographer Maxime du Camp coyly described it, "by some inconceivable forgetfulness, the artist, who copied his model from nature, had neglected to represent the feet, the legs, the thighs, the stomach, the hips, the

— A Call to the Media —

For many years men have awaited, impatiently to be sure, evidence that Maitreya* does in truth exist, and carries out his work among us. Why this doubt should for so long persist is, perhaps, difficult to understand, given the vast transformations of our world which have clearly taken place, each one foretold by Maitreya, and made available to the public and world media. What prevents the acceptance – even as a hypothesis – that such a welcome event has indeed transpired?

"The media of the world know every facet of this information, however little they inform the public of its nature."

The media of the world know every facet of this information, however little they inform the public of its nature. Many of its representatives have met Maitreya, have heard him speak, and yet stay silent themselves.

Laws

Why should this be so? What inhibits the public announcement of this welcome news? In the main the problem is fear: fear of ridicule, fear of disbelief; fear of loss, of their status or jobs; fear that they are somehow beguiled, that they did not see what they saw or hear what they heard. It is easier to set their experiences aside and to leave it to Maitreya himself – if he does indeed exist – to come forward and show the world his factual presence.

This view, logical enough to those who thus wait silently, shows little understanding of the Laws which govern the appearance of a Teacher of Maitreya's stature.

Many worthy Teachers come into our lives, do their work, and cause few ripples on the surface of men's thought and action. They seldom need forerunners to prepare their way. Maitreya, however, is the World Teacher, Head of Hierarchy, and intends to serve as such for the next world cycle. His impact on humanity cannot be comprehended. His coming is a truly momentous happening, which must be prepared for beforehand, and adequately explained to men of every station.

The world's media are ideally placed to acquaint men with the true happenings of our time. They are looked to for information, and often guidance, by millions of people thirsty for the truth, for knowledge and hope. It behoves the men and women of the media, men and women of goodwill, to acquaint *themselves* with this information, where necessary, and to serve the public by its serious introduction. Then will they see Maitreya openly, ready to show us all how to set to rights the world.

*This article, published in *Share International* magazine, was written by a Master of Wisdom. The Masters, headed by Maitreya, the World Teacher, are highly advanced teachers and advisors of humanity who are planning to work openly in the world very soon.

SHARE INTERNATIONAL

To find out more, call toll free to hear an extraordinary recorded message:

1-888-877-8272

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WINDY OAKS ESTATE

Pinot For Progressives!

10% OF YOUR ORDER DONATED TO THE NATION ASSOCIATES

RECENT KUDOS FOR WINDY OAKS ESTATE

Double Gold Medal, 2006 SF Chronicle Wine Competition

91 points, Editors' Choice 11.01.05
Wine Enthusiast Magazine

91 points, Pinot Report Quarterly

- 100% estate, family vineyard and winery on the California coast.
- Organic practices in the vineyard.
- Dedicated to sustainable agriculture, using biodynamic principles.
- No additives in the winemaking process.
- A pure expression of terroir.

www.windyoaksestate.com

Indicate in the Comments section of the Wine Order page that you read about us in The Nation

(831) 786-9463

PEACE

"MULTIPLY PEACE" t-shirt #8144 and mug #2631

Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising

T-SHIRTS • BUMPERSTICKERS • BUTTONS • CUSTOM PRINTING
CALL FOR A NEW! FREE SPRING CATALOG
800.258.8579 XTN • WWW.NORTHERNSUN.COM

WWW.HIPPIELAWYER.COM

RADICAL RADIO

at
THE FARM IN SUMMERTOWN, TN

BLOG AT
http://hippielawyer.libsyn.com

Interviews with Palast, Zinn, Hightower, Helen Thomas and others

LORENZO OTTAVIANI

TRAVEL ITALIA

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ITALIAN TRAVEL POSTERS

"...A beautiful piece of work."
– Milton Glaser

Hardcover, 160 full color vintage Italian travel posters

www.travelitaliabook.com

chest, the hands, the arms, the shoulders, the neck, and the head." Commissioned by a private collector, this is a work that never could have been exhibited in its time and was not seen in public until it was shown at the Brooklyn Museum in 1988, more than 120 years after its making—another sign of the painter's having sold his soul to commerce, some might say. If so, the price was well worth it.

Call it a piece of glorified pornography—but if technique can be transcendent, then the common or garden-variety crotch shot is well and truly glorified in this painting, in which the rendering of human flesh is of a refinement that Edmond de Goncourt was right in comparing to Correggio's. The pornographic photos of the day, exhibited alongside the painting to contextualize it, serve above all to highlight the vast gulf that separates Courbet's art from its ostensible analogues or sources (and the same is true of the nineteenth-century topographic photographs likewise juxtaposed against his landscapes). To a great extent, the assimilation into painting of a photographic way of seeing would have to wait for Courbet's successor, Manet, to begin in earnest. In any case, that this most extreme example of what would later be called the objectification of women by the male gaze is strangely tied to the way Courbet viewed his native landscape is to some extent confirmed by the title of the painting that was commissioned as a discreet cover-up for *L'Origine* by the last private owner, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan: following the same general contours as Courbet's painting but in a much-abstracted manner, André Masson's masking panel was titled *Terre érotique* (Erotic Earth; 1955).

To notice the connection between *L'Origine du monde* and *La Source de la Loue* is not to forget the vast difference between them, which is not only a difference in subject but above all a difference in manner of painting. The immense if prurient tenderness of the one, its evocation of a surpassing softness, could hardly be mistaken for the vigorous, sometimes raw paint-handling of the other. This is the most remarkable thing about Courbet: he was almost a painter without a style; he had formulas, to be sure, but he never had one formula. There were many painters in him, though he was rarely, after those first clumsy efforts, a pasticheur. Tradition came alive under his hand. ■

JOHN HIGGINS

Alejandro Polanco as Ale and Carlos Zapata as Carlos in Rahmin Bahrani's *Chop Shop* (2007)

Our Troubled Youth

by STUART KLAWANS

It is a mark of Ramin Bahrani's integrity that his new film does more than transport you to an unexpected world, as movies often claim to do. *Chop Shop* specifies how it gets you there: by a hike along an elevated section of New York City highway and a ride on the subway's G line.

This attention to infrastructure is only fitting, given the setting to which you're delivered. *Chop Shop* was shot in the Willets Point section of Queens: the Iron Triangle, as it's called, where rows of auto body shops stand shoulder to shoulder along the almost-paved streets behind Shea Stadium, home of the New York Mets. In August (when *Chop Shop* was filmed) the heat-struck road is choked with two solid lanes of cars inching their way into one- and two-story garages that stretch into the distance as far as the eye can see. So it seems, anyway, given the choice of lens that cinematographer Michael Simmonds sometimes makes for establishing shots, to compress the factual into the mind-boggling. But, again, it's a mark of integrity that the film doesn't often add such visual emphasis. It doesn't need to. Straight-on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

views of corrugated metal gates and flaking Dumpsters, pools of wastewater and heaps of tires, the highway bridge and elevated train and jet airliners roaring overhead give you something that's as essential to the movies as any flight of fantasy: the eloquence of the real.

By stages, along the highway bridge and through the subway tunnel, *Chop Shop* brings into the Iron Triangle a slightly fictionalized element: 12-year-old Ale (Alejandro Polanco), a spindly, T-shirted bundle of self-assurance who has received no schooling but figures he knows everything anyhow. Ale is sufficiently wised-up to scam a day-labor contractor into paying him to go away. He understands how to hawk candy bars successfully in the subway, without even a pretense of raising money for a charity. Most promising of all, he's figured out how to obtain a position with Rob, the owner of a body shop (played by Rob Sowulski, the owner of the garage where *Chop Shop* was filmed). In exchange for walking down the middle of the street to wave customers into Rob's shop—plus some work sanding and priming, repairing side-view mirrors, sweeping and locking up—Ale gets a cash salary and permission to live in an upstairs room. This housing is no more than a box of unfinished plywood, furnished with a platform bed, a microwave oven and a single window with a view onto the shop floor below. To Ale, though, it's the place where he can bring his 16-year-old sister, Isamar (Isamar Gonzales), and make a home.

How did these kids get loose on the street? Where is the rest of their family? The screenplay, written by Bahrani with Bahareh Azimi, leaves the answers to such questions obscure, preferring to adopt a present-tense, matter-of-fact worldview much like Ale's. Incidents of low drama abound—a disillusionment, a quarrel, a plan gone wrong—but no reversals beyond what you'd expect of an ordinary day or night in Queens. The rhythm is similarly mundane, in the best sense. *Chop Shop* is the kind of movie that doesn't cut to an image of people boarding a subway car but instead makes its characters stand on the platform, waiting for the train to emerge from the tunnel and pull to a stop. Despite the astonishment of the setting—do Mets fans suspect this place exists?—the film depends for its effect on Bahrani's taking time to observe humble details and emotional nuances. He pauses for a close-up of a blue flip-flop sandal as it floats down the street during a rainstorm. He trains his hand-held camera on Ale and Isamar in their room and lets them say nothing for a long time, except for jocular insults that of course say everything.

They share needs and love and also, for lack of any better arrangement, a bed, which accounts for a certain push-and-pull in their relationship. Ale, for all his swagger, still teeters on the verge of puberty, whereas Isamar is conspicuously over the line. Two kids, one of them nubile, on the scuffle in a rough part of town: you can predict the plot turn but not, I think, its emotional resolution, which turns out to be as matter-of-fact, and as satisfying, as the rest of *Chop Shop*.

If *Chop Shop* didn't have the grandeur of its setting, I would call it a miniature. If it lacked the deep, unforced flow of feeling between Ale and Isamar, I might say it was precooked social protest in a can. As it is, though, the film is at once harsh and tender, moral and nonjudgmental, and so surprising that you wonder how anyone could have brought it off. But then, despite the director's being a New Yorker and the co-writer's living in France, their names give evidence of an influence from farther east. *Chop Shop* belongs to a small but fascinating group of Iranian-flavored movies made in New York City—pictures that include films by Amir Naderi and Bahrani's own first feature, *Man Push Cart*. To my mind, *Chop Shop* is the best of the lot, and easily one of the best films released so far this year. If you're in the city of its origin, you can catch it at Film Forum through March 11.

Except for the occasional Bad Seed or Damien, Spawn of Satan, child characters show us the world of a movie through wide-open, innocent eyes. (Ale does so in *Chop Shop*, despite the likelihood that a juvenile court judge would call him a hardened criminal.) Adolescent protagonists, by contrast, tend to offer a warped and squinting perspective, since they special-

Events

NATIONAL

Say 'No' to Africom—No US Military Command in Africa

■ In February 2007 the Department of Defense announced the creation of a US Africa Command infrastructure, or Africom, to "coordinate all US military and security interests throughout the continent." The Granny Peace Brigade will be observing the fortieth anniversary of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, viewing the Africom program as a direct violation of, and threat to, King's dream of peace, social justice and racial harmony. Our second teach-in will be Sunday, March 30. Program: Horace G. Campbell, professor of political science at Syracuse University; Emira Woods, co-director of Foreign Policy in Focus at the Institute for Policy Studies; Frida Berrigan, senior research associate at the Arms Trade Resource Center at the World Policy Institute; Sonia Sanchez, poet, activist and member of the Philadelphia Granny Peace Brigade; and the New York City Step Team for Social Justice, a dance troupe. Moderator: Vinie Burrows, actor, writer and member of the NY Granny Peace Brigade. 2–5 PM. Unitarian Church of All Souls, Reidy Friendship Hall, 1157 Lexington Avenue (79-80th streets). Info: www.grannypeacebrigade.org/close_bases.html, (212) 533-2125, grannypeace@gmail.com.

NEW YORK

The NYC Anarchist Bookfair

■ Friday, April 11: film festival and cabaret. Saturday, April 12: bookfair, 11 AM–8 PM, featuring over fifty-five groups exhibiting anarchist books, zines, CDs, film/video, as well as information on organizing and other activities relating to anarchism. Also on Saturday, as well as Sunday from 11 AM–4 PM: panels, presentations and skill-shares on "The ABCs of Anarchist Theory and Practice," "Anarcha-Feminism," "Urban and Indigenous Social Movements," "Anarchist/Queer Activism" and "Anarchist Publishing/Education." The second annual bookfair will feature over forty tables, as well as an art gallery. New York City, for more than 150 years, has been a center of anarchist life, culture, struggle and ideas. All are invited to participate. Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square South. More info: www.anarchistbookfair.net.

PENNSYLVANIA

Iraq: What to Do

■ April 12, 9 AM–5 PM, National Constitution Center, Kirby Auditorium, 525 Arch Street, Philadelphia. Experts from varying perspectives, in audience-assisted dialogue. Speakers: professor William R. Polk, "Understanding Iraq"; professor Sohail Hashmi, "An Islamic Solution"; Robert Dreyfuss, "Getting Out"; Col. (Ret.) Paul Hughes, "Consolidating Gains in Iraq"; Gareth Porter, "The Third Option in Iraq"; Bill Pace, "A United Nations Emergency Peace Service"; Ivan Eland, "The Way Out of Iraq: Decentralizing the Iraqi Government"; and professor Joseph Schwartzberg, "A New Perspective on Peacekeeping." Cost: $25 advance registration; $35 after April 1; students free, if space available (only 180 seats). Sponsor: Global Constitution Forums. Major support: Newman Foundation. More info and to register: www.globalconstitutionforum.org, jamestranney@post.harvard.edu or (215) 849-9165.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $210 for 50 words; $260 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ize in two kinds of regard: low and self. They are painfully aware that their view of the world is incomplete, since it does not yet incorporate themselves in settled form. They are also at the point of fearing—or hoping—that a bit of the rot they see everywhere might seep into them.

Gus Van Sant has lingered for decades within this adolescent worldview. Part of the reason, no doubt, is that he finds teenagers to be irresistibly beautiful subjects. Witness Gabe Nevins, a boy with the face and hair of a Pre-Raphaelite angel, who makes his acting debut in Van Sant's latest film, *Paranoid Park*. But beyond the attractions of youth, teenagers provide a necessary outlet for a filmmaker with Van Sant's talent for the porous, the shifting, the willfully uneasy and achingly unfinished. Among all the contrasts between *Chop Shop* and *Paranoid Park*—East Coast versus West Coast, poor milieu versus affluent setting, world of work versus world of recreation, straightforward style versus constant artifice—the biggest difference may be one of boundaries. *Paranoid Park* takes place where perception and emotion leak into each other.

Based on a novel for young adults by Blake Nelson but unfolding more like a story by Virginia Woolf, *Paranoid Park* takes the form of an associative jumble, scratched into a notebook without regard for chronology by a Portland, Oregon, lad named Alex. It would be a disservice to the movie to straighten out his confession; but you may as well know that he spends the film brooding over a recent, horrible misdeed, which he may or may not keep secret. A police detective suspects; a dryly clever girl in his high school seems to know; but only Alex can decide how much guilt to go on bearing for the event, which happened one night near a rough skateboarders' park under a downtown bridge.

What did Alex do? It's easy for Van Sant to address that question, though hard to watch the answer. (I do not recommend *Paranoid Park* to the squeamish.) But why doesn't Alex do more? What keeps him from confessing? That's the challenging question, the one that incites Van Sant to commit cinema, and it can be answered *only* by watching. The most you can hang on to by way of narrative content is Alex's voiceover explanation of why he liked the skateboarders' park: however bad he had it, the street kids there had it worse. The rest of the solution—or, rather, of the mystery—lies in mood, atmosphere, weather.

This may be just a polite way of saying that you spend a lot of time watching Alex walk along the corridors of his high school, to the accompaniment of a collage soundtrack, and a lot of time studying the way the light changes on his face, which it often does for no apparent reason. (The effects may be arbitrary, but since the cinematographer is Christopher Doyle, they're also splendid to look at.) Enough of this, and you may be tempted to consign *Paranoid Park* to Andrew Sarris's category of "Less Than Meets the Eye."

But as suspense builds in the film—not about the catastrophe but about its aftermath for Alex—an organizing tension also begins to reveal itself. Everything works by contradiction. The scenes of skateboarding, which by rights ought to zoom along giddily, are made slow and weightless. The bloodiest, most nightmarish image is scored to the highest strains of the "Ode to Joy." Ultimately, the very existence of the movie becomes a study in contradiction, since *Paranoid Park* presents itself as a realization of Alex's confessional scribblings—and these turn out to be self-canceling.

Paradox Park, then. It's not so much a story as an experience: of having the good life (complete with cheerleader girlfriend) but wanting to lose it; of needing your parents but watching them go; of knowing you should think about Iraq and "starving children in Africa" but dwelling on troubles of your own. Above all, the film lets you experience the contradiction that many adolescents feel but that few people can show as well as Van Sant: everything, absolutely everything, is too beautiful to bear.

Short Take: If national tragedies have taught us anything, from the Zapruder film to the videos of the Twin Towers falling, it's that people love to rewind disaster and watch it again. And so, by way of giving the public what it wants, the producers of *Vantage Point* have made the *Groundhog Day* of terrorist thrillers. You see the American President caught up in a shooting and bombing in Spain; and then you see the attack from another character's viewpoint, and another's, and another's, with the action continually starting over from the same moment. I can imagine Brian De Palma using this conceit to mock Americans for their obsessive-compulsive viewing habits. But *Vantage Point* is the work of screenwriter Barry Levy and director Pete Travis—mark those names—and so you get not a critique but an indulgence. Something swarthy and Islamic this way comes, and comes, and comes; and the character best suited to stop it—Secret Service agent Thomas Barnes (Dennis Quaid)—is the one terrorists have already unnerved.

An armed nation that feels proud to have the jitters, its eyes fixed perpetually on the very thing that spooks it most—now *that's* entertainment! ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

DON'T LET THE RIGHT HIJACK IMMIGRATION. "Who Would Jesus Deport?" stickers at www.whowouldjesusdeport.org.

PUT ANTHRAX AND IMPEACHMENT back on the table: www.amesstrain.com.

ANCIENT SECRETS

JOSEPHUS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED! Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible. Over 40,000 sold in 27 years. Send $10: Abelard-Reuchlin, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 90864. (Details: SASE.)

NEW TESTAMENT THEMATICS. Massive number of thematic and vocabulary concurrences between the New Testament and Dio Chrysostom's discourses reveal that during his exile he headed a conspiracy that wrote it. www.famvoter.org.

ASTROLOGY

TRANSFORMATIONAL ASTROLOGY. Readings with Dr. Craig. In person or by phone. Counseling for individuals and couples. www.lahealer.com or (323) 208-1091.

BLOGS/WEB

WWW.DEMOCRATICCRITIQUE.US. Why America—and the world—must transcend the conservative mind.

WWW.FAMOUSWELSH.COM. www.jonesnyhistory.com.

WWW.THEVIEWFROMTHECOUCH.COM.

WWW.PERSIMMONTREE.ORG. An online literary magazine by women over 60.

STUDENTS, TEACHERS, SCHOOL LIBRARIANS: Through the generosity of *Nation* Associates, we are able to offer free access to the *Nation* Digital Archive for high school and college libraries. This archive includes over 140 years of political and cultural commentary by historical figures such as Albert Einstein, Langston Hughes, Martin Luther King Jr. and Hunter S. Thompson. Obtaining a free year of access for your school is as easy as filling out a simple online form on our StudentNation web page at www.thenation.com/student. Take advantage of this great research tool and spread the word!

BOOKS

BE A BETTER MUSICIAN. Zen master spins music, earth, sensuality. www.ZenMasterAvatarPremAnadiBunnyRabbitTheThirdTakesViolinLessons.com.

BOTHERED BY FORBIDDEN DESIRES? Don't feel guilty, read *Dr. Lumumba's Dream of Incest* by Anna Purna. (888) 280-7715. Also available at Amazon.com.

THE PURPOSE OF LIFE is to live it, and here is how: www.findthepurposeoflife.com; (888) 280-7715.

CATS

NATURAL SCRATCHING POST. White and red cedar, thirty-two inches tall, positive-reinforcement training system: www.naturalscratch.com. Guaranteed!

EDUCATION

A FREE PAPER FOR FREE KIDS! Progressive newspaper and teacher's guide, grades 4-8. www.IndyKids.net.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

EDUCATION

BUSINESS WRITING. Training material for workbooks and workshops. License custom content for your company. www.proofread.com/books.

GOURMET FOOD

REDUCE YOUR DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL. Fresh California certified olive oil. www.westcoastproducts.net. Specialty olives and olive oils since 1937. Orland, California.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___ , The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

Concerned Singles

Links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

FiftyPlusConnect.com

FIND A DATE, travel partner, activity partner, e-pal or more. Sign up now. (800) 343-7074.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.greensingles.com.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

SENSUAL, STYLISH PHONE CONVERSATIONS with intelligence, humor and élan. Unrestricted, guaranteed discretion. Alexis, (781) 581-9598.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

YOUR SECRET is our secret. www.secretsphonesex.com, (800) 344-2019.

MATURE, INTELLIGENT CONVERSATION. Erotic, imaginative, independently operated. www.missaria.com. (Gretel came out of her closet.) (866) 454-3763.

LATINA RETIRED EDUCATOR, recently transplanted to Orange County, CA, in the lion's den. Looking left for a fit, politically progressive, retired male companion to share the good times of our golden years. I'm interested in opera, classical music, concerts, museums, art, physical fitness and healthy eating. No smoke or drink. Reply Nation Box 450.

FEMALE RETIRED TEACHER. Bronx, NY, resident. Early 70s, enjoys reading, films, music, nature, meditation. Seeks caring male companion. Reply Nation Box 451.

WORLD CITIZEN, writer/consultant, attractive, fit 5' 6" seeks male companion 65-75 for the arts, social activism, travel, more. Boston, NE, NYC. Reply Nation box #445

MERCHANDISE

Coexist

BANNED ANTIWAR SHIRTS feature names of 3,734 fallen US troops. Banned in five states. Democratic candidate bumper stickers, magnetic bumper stickers, fridge magnets, ministickers, buttons. 500+ liberal products. Free shipping. www.CarryaBigSticker.com.

MERCHANDISE

Talk Back Tees

Liberal quotations, aphorisms & wit on colorful, cotton tees. **talkbacktees.com** 800.777.9242

EXPRESS YOURSELF! Stickers, shirts, buttons, emblems and more—www.evolvefish.com. (800) 386-5846 for catalog or to order now.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

LEGAL DIRECTOR. The Center for Constitutional Rights seeks a legal director to lead its litigation program. Applicants should have substantial legal experience, strong writing and leadership skills. Please review full description at www.ccrustice.org/job-internship. CCR is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer. People of color, women, LGBT encouraged to apply.

ONLINE ADVERTISING SALES REPRESENTATIVE. *The Nation*, America's leading progressive print and online journal, seeks an online advertising salesperson for (soon-to-be redesigned) website. Position will have responsibility for growing web revenue, with responsibility for all phases of the advertising sales cycle—from forecasting to customization of proposals and reports to clients and management, as well as development of collateral material. Requirements: minimum of two years of advertising sales experience, with proven success and contacts in online advertising space. Must have demonstrated ability to build and maintain relationships through strong interpersonal skills, as well as superior verbal and written communication. Excellent negotiation and presentation skills required. Some travel. Position works out of *The Nation*'s New York City offices. Congenial workplace offering competitive compensation package and excellent benefits. *The Nation* is an equal opportunity employer, and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. Send résumé, cover letter and salary requirements to websales@thenation.com. No phone calls, please.

ASSISTANT WEB EDITOR AT *THE NATION*. A full-time entry-level position working out of our New York City offices. Applicants should have excellent news judgment, copy editing, photo editing and web production skills, and the ability to thrive under deadline pressure. The ideal candidate would have a journalism degree or equivalent experience, to be part of a multimedia team, assisting the web editor in assigning and editing stories, working with fact-checkers and developing editorial features. Enthusiasm and experience with interactive projects essential. *The Nation* offers a competitive salary and excellent benefits. We are an equal opportunity employer, and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. Send résumé and cover letter to webjob@thenation.com. No phone calls, please.

RESEARCH DIRECTOR. The National Priorities Project seeks research director with strong quantitative skills for dynamic, progressive research organization to plan and execute research for reports and web-based materials; provide socio-economic framework for materials; oversee database; assist with website; and supervise research and IT staff. Requires master's degree in economics, sociology, political science or related field; knowledge of federal social, tax and national security policies; quantitative skills; experience in research department of public policy or education organization; supervisory experience. Send résumé, cover letter, references and writing sample to: kris@nationalpriorities.org. Details: www.nationalpriorities.org. AA/EOE.

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

MANAGING EDITOR/WRITER FOR FAIR'S MAGAZINE *EXTRA!* Responsibilities include scheduling, assigning and editing articles, writing media criticism for *Extra!* and other FAIR outlets in our NYC office. Familiarity with FAIR's work, web skills a plus. Forty hours/week, $35k (plus child supplement), full health/dental benefits. People of color/women are urged to apply. Send résumé (with references), three published writing samples and cover letter to: FAIR, 112 West 27th Street, Sixth Floor, New York, NY 10001, or e-mail fair@fair.org, subject line: job search. Rolling deadline. No phone calls, please.

L.A.-BASED, *NATION*-LOVING, industry-savvy player sought by *The Nation* magazine and website. As *The Nation* offices are in NYC but the heart and soul of the industry is out West, we are looking for someone with Progressive Passion, gumption, integrity and insider contacts to represent us on a commission basis to marketers of filmed entertainment and music. The goal is to sell print and digital advertising. Interviews will be conducted in LA mid-April and late May. Please send an e-mail explaining why this is of interest to you and how you can help us. Reply movies@thenation.com.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST, twenty-two years, all issues including depression, anxiety, relationships and concerns of artists, academics and students. Sliding scale, insurance. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

NYC THERAPIST: life goals, relationships, finances, body awareness, living your values. Midtown. Reasonable fees. Barbara Chutroo, LCSW; bchutroo@earthlink.net; (212) 721-4284.

EXPERIENCED PSYCHOANALYST also working with couples and families. Approach is psychodynamic but also eclectic. San Francisco and Marin. CA-PSY11249. Kristine Pfleiderer, DMH. (415) 563-8207.

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST. PhD, twenty-five years of experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, (212) 582-5508.

I AM IN MY 80s. Amazingly, the more I do psychotherapy the more I find it exciting and fulfilling. My approach is Gestalt, analytic, existential, hypnotic. Free consultation. Abraham Levitsky, PhD. Berkeley, CA, (510) 649-1007.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Santa Fe Properties. (800) 374-2931 toll free. (505) 690-4840 mobile or peter.kahn@santafeproperties.com.

BURLINGTON, VT, cohousing community has four units left! Close to woods, downtown, bus line and university. www.bcoho.org.

TRAVEL

ARE YOU LOOKING FOR A NEW EXPERIENCE? Come & visit us. www.WildBurroRescue.org.

CHINA CONFERENCE/study tour on economic, political and cultural developments. May 22–June 5, 2008. Sponsored by the US journal *Nature, Society, and Thought* and Tsinghua University (Beijing). Go to www.umn.edu/home/marqu002/china2008, or call (612) 922-7993.

CLEAN, GREEN NEW ZEALAND? Think again. Environmental alert: toxic truth for travelers, consumers. www.stop1080poison.com.

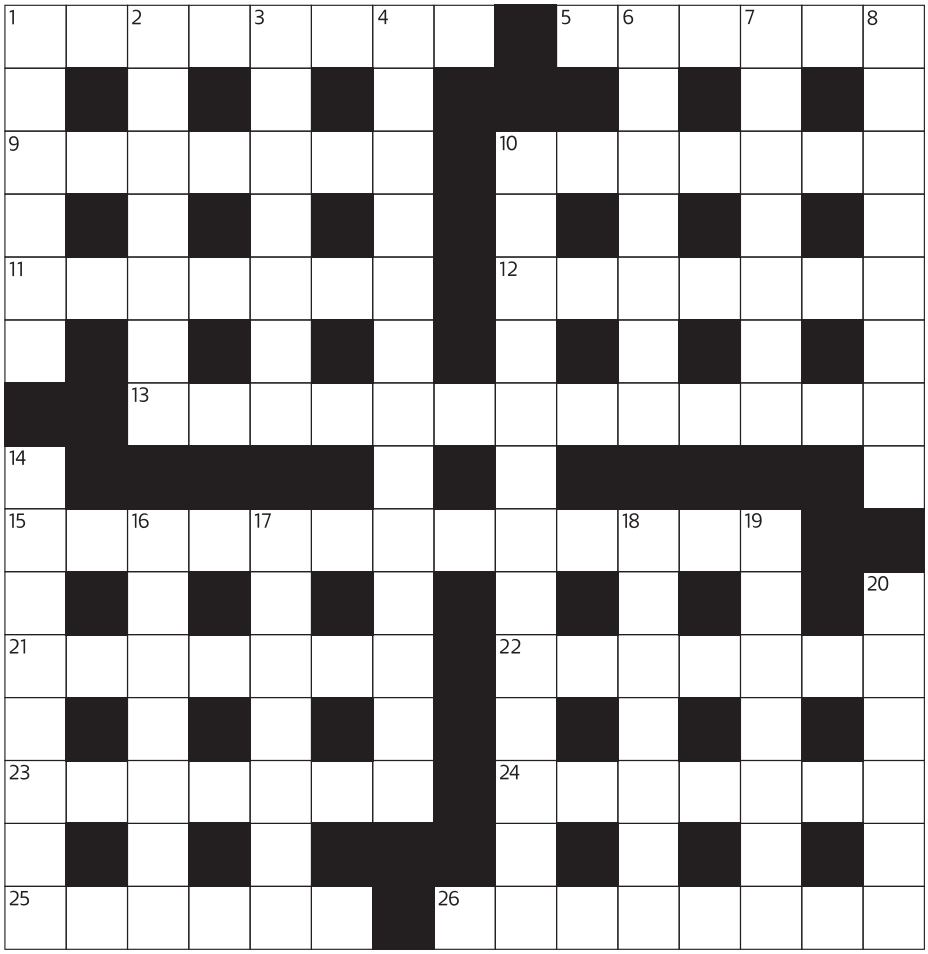
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Contact Leigh at (212) 209-5414 or leigh@thenation.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Puzzle No. 3120

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One hears a sort of urban music is tying things up. (8)

5 and **25** Recalls what one does when picking up the baby sitter? (6,2,4)

9 One who complains about the receptacle brought for the beer? (7)

10 When they came in, actors with high-pitched voices went out. (7)

11 Commemorative inscription from the pit, a phrase included. (7)

12 One bit of the show works just like the pie does. (7)

13 If your job is boring, this might help. (8,5)

15 Mustache-twirling actions when the mole gets excited, to play with shaky feelings. (13)

21 Railroad track used in narrow places in a bad tangle around the junction. If you're unlucky, you might run it! (7)

22 The one that wakened to me was beautiful, but somehow drear about me. (7)

23 A very old lingua franca with a sign of the zodiac the CIA wrongly displayed. (7)

24 Carries its companion? The chef set out the ingredients for us. (7)

25 See 5

26 A place in China gives direction to the last letter, and upset Che with such a pale expression. (8)

DOWN

1 Wig's companion when Nero has nothing to finish it, as one of Hitler's favorites. (6)

2 A notice, garbled, proves it's a member of the buttercup family. (7)

3 The caller is about sick enough to show what the Vandal engages in. (7)

4 Naming the treaty that started NATO is all wet! (5,8)

6 Came back in an attempt to win everything I put in color. (7)

7 There's a point to the tune having something of middle importance in Kenya. (7)

8 Sits rather awkwardly to sort of rely on it, being somewhat nunnish. (8)

10 A girl and her dog went off to see him by hitting the bricks. (3,6,2,2)

14 One may have come from afar, bringing me up on one such as Ulysses. (8)

16 The 36-inch rifle, used when something is out of reach. (4,3)

17 "Land ho!" I spluttered. "It's an industrial center, in Belgium!" (7)

18 It's all the same diplomatically, but I make an inroad in 99, in a classic way. (7)

19 Moses, who becomes confused, loses direction in a way. (7)

20 When the general asks, "Do you think I'm a fool?" this is how you answer—rising to a quiet sign—or it's the brig! (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3119

		T	A	K	E	S	T	O	C	K	O	F		
	S		R		M		O		O		U		F	
C	E	N	T	A	U	R	S		N	U	N	C	I	O
	C		H		L		S		T		C		D	
P	O	P	U	L	A	R		L	E	G	E	N	D	S
	N		R		T		D		N				L	
A	D	V	I	C	E		E	X	T	R	E	M	E	S
			A				T				N			
G	R	A	N	D	P	R	E		V	A	L	E	T	S
	E				O		R		I		I		R	
B	E	R	S	E	R	K		S	K	A	G	W	A	Y
	L		W		T		G		I		H		G	
V	E	R	O	N	A		E	I	N	S	T	E	I	N
	D		R		G		N		G		E		C	
		A	D	V	E	R	T	I	S	I	N	G		

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2008 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Bleuchip International, PO Box 25542, London, ON N6C 6B2. Canada Post: Publications Mail Agreement No.: 40612608. When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions. Basic annual subscription price: $52 for 47 issues. Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Energy.

Barrel, bushel, or both?

Oil Preparing for a better energy future means exploring a range of energy options. So we're investing $15 billion over ten years to find and produce new energy supplies in the Gulf. In fact, BP has invested more than $28 billion over the last five years in U.S. energy development.

Biofuels We're also thinking beyond the barrel, working with DuPont to create an advanced generation of biofuels made from corn, wheat and other crops. And we're creating the world's first integrated research center dedicated to applying biotechnology to the energy industry.
It's a start.

bp

beyond petroleum®

bp.com/us

© 2008 BP Products North America Inc.
DuPont is a trademark of E.I. duPont de Nemours and Company.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Starving 1.5 million Gazans
will *not* bring security, justice or peace to Israelis, Palestinians or Jews anywhere

Gaza remains under occupation

Gaza is the world's largest open-air prison. Except for the Rafah gate to Eqypt, Israel controls all land access to the Gaza Strip, plus its airspace and coastal waters; the flow of goods, food, and fuel; freedom of movement; and access to healthcare.

Four months ago, in violation of international law, Israel reduced imports into Gaza to a trickle of essential food and medicines. The drinking water is polluted by oil and sewage, yet Israel bars delivery of water filters. In January, Gaza's only electrical plant shut down, plunging 800,000 people into darkness. People with urgent medical needs cannot leave, and many have died. Children, who comprise half of Gaza's population, are suffering the most.

In February, the top UN humanitarian affairs official, John Holmes, said he was "shocked by the miserable things" he had seen in Gaza, blaming the blockade for the near collapse of the economy which has left 80% of Gazans dependent on food aid.

Israel does have a choice

A few miles from Gaza, 20,000 people in the working class Israeli town of Sderot live in constant fear from Qassam rockets fired by Palestinian militants in Gaza. These rockets, which are deliberately fired on civilians, violate international law. Eleven have died since 2000, and many more have been injured.

Israel says that collective punishment, including rocket attacks on crowded neighborhoods, and limiting supplies of electricity and safe drinking water, will turn the people of Gaza against the Qassam launchers – but the opposite is true.

Israel's history of violating the human rights of Gazans, including demolishing thousands of homes, long predates the rocket attacks. Over 2,680 Gazans have been killed since 2000 alone. This only fuels support for Qassams.

Hamas has repeatedly offered a ceasefire, and each time Israel has ignored the offer. Now, Israel is threatening a full-scale invasion.

A lasting and just peace between Israelis and Palestinians is possible

The answer starts with the United States, which provides Israel with the economic, military and diplomatic support that makes much of this possible.

Join Jewish Voice for Peace in our call upon the U.S government to use its influence with Israel to stop the collective punishment of Gaza, to work with the international community towards a joint ceasefire, and to take action to end the ongoing occupation of the Palestinian territories.

Join Palestinians and Israelis in their call for an immediate joint ceasefire and an end to the siege of Gaza!

ACT NOW
Go to www.jvp.org

- Make your voice heard
- Learn more and donate
- Download free posters
- Join thousands like you who want a just peace between Israelis and Palestinians

Contact us at: Jewish Voice for Peace
1611 Telegraph Ave, Suite 550, Oakland, CA 94612
Tel: 510/465-1777 Fax: 510/465-1616 Email: info@jvp.org

Jewish Voice for Peace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED